

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE WITH HIS RECONSTRUCTED CABINET, ON THE WHITE HOUSE GROUNDS

(The Republican convention at Cleveland this month will nominate Mr. Coolidge for the presidential term beginning March 4, 1925; and with the expected close of the present session of Congress on June 7 the country will be well informed as to the Administration's opinions and policies on almost every leading issue of the day. In the front row of the group above, from left to right, are: Harry S. New, Postmaster-General; John W. Weeks, Secretary of War; Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; President Coolidge; Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Harlan F. Stone, Attorney-General, and Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy. Standing, from left to right, are: James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor; Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Speeding
Up at
Washington*

At Washington, after the middle of April, there was a noticeable quickening of the Congressional pace. Everybody was intent upon finishing the business of the long session before the political conventions of June. Under the budget system, it has become less difficult to pass the annual appropriation bills. They have careful scrutiny in committee rooms, but involve less debate when put on their passage. It is the raising of money rather than its expenditure that has been the foremost question in the present session. The Mellon tax proposals in their most conspicuous features had been promptly rejected by the House of Representatives, which, after first substituting the income-tax rates of the Democratic minority as introduced by Mr. Garner, ended by adopting what is known as the Longworth compromise. The Senate Finance Committee, having before it the original Mellon bill, the Longworth compromise, and the Democratic rates fathered by Senator Simmons as ranking minority member, decided at length to report to the Senate the Mellon bill practically as originally drafted.

*Mellon Tax
Program
Mutilated*

But on May 5 the so-called radical Republicans supported the Democrats in securing a substitution of the Democratic rates for the Mellon program. This was accomplished by a vote of forty-three to forty. Besides substituting the Simmons surtax rates for the Mellon rates, the Senate by a similar vote immediately proceeded to adopt the Democratic normal rates, and inserted them in the bill in place of the Longworth rates that had come from the other House. The normal rates, as passed by the coalition

Senate majority apply 2 per cent. to the first \$4,000 of income, 4 per cent. from \$4,000 to \$8,000, and 6 per cent. above \$8,000. The corresponding Longworth rates were 2, 5, and 6 per cent., while the Mellon rates were 3 (below \$4,000) and 6 (above \$4,000). Thus it will be seen that in the three programs the normal rates are not widely different. It is in the surtaxes that the difference is most striking.

*Surtaxes
in Competing
Measures*

The Mellon plan started with an extra one per cent. on ten thousand dollars, and by rapid progression reached 25 per cent. on \$100,000, this rate being the maximum and applying to all larger incomes. The Longworth plan begins at one and a half per cent. on \$10,000 and reaches 37½ per cent. on \$200,000, this being the highest rate. The Simmons plan, as adopted by the Senate, starts with one per cent. on incomes from \$10,000 to \$14,000, and advances rapidly until 36 per cent. is levied on incomes of from \$90,000 to \$100,000. The progression continues until the maximum of 40 per cent. is reached on incomes of \$500,000 or more. It is reasonably certain that, when the two Houses complete their work and agree upon rates, we shall have a scale of graduated surtaxes on incomes between \$10,000 and \$100,000 that will progress from one or two per cent. up to 35 per cent., or somewhat more. On incomes above \$100,000, there may be some further advance of rates, but the maximum will not exceed 40 per cent.

*Our
Reckless Tax
Schemes*

By way of comparison, the highest surtax under the rates of 1921 was 65 per cent. on incomes above \$1,000,000, which, with the normal rate of 8 per cent., made a total tax

of 73 per cent. in the very highest "bracket." Under the law of 1922, the highest surtax is 50 per cent. on all incomes exceeding \$300,000, making, with the normal, a tax of 58 per cent. If the Simmons rates should prevail, the larger incomes would pay the maximum surtax of 40 per cent. with a normal tax of 6 per cent., making a total of 46. Mr. Mellon's arguments in favor of lower rates were sound from every standpoint except from that of the envious or predatory socialism that exults in confiscation for its own sake, regardless of the harm that may result to the entire economic structure. It would be well within bounds to assert that we are now in this country levying taxes with greater recklessness and less intelligence than is shown in any other country in the entire world. It is not merely the discriminating rates of taxation, but the technical rulings and bureaucratic methods employed in the attempt to enforce unsound tax laws that disturb business and react unfavorably upon the community at large.

*Breaking
Down Large
Estates*

The present rate of federal taxation levied upon estates at the death of the owner advances progressively from 1 per cent. on \$50,000 until a maximum of 25 per cent. is reached upon estates in excess of \$10,000,000. Many of the States have their own systems of inheritance or estate taxes; and,

since most matters affecting the individual in his property relations belong in the sphere of State jurisdiction, it seems an undesirable encroachment for the Federal Government to rely henceforth as a permanent thing upon estate or inheritance taxation in any form. Existing inheritance or estate taxes are so peculiar and so conflicting that in certain cases the entire property of a decedent would not suffice to meet the legal demands of the tax collectors of the several States and the Federal Government. We have built up an economic system based upon private property through long generations of experience; and we are now engaged in the breaking down of that system by taxation processes more summary and extreme than Karl Marx himself would have deemed advisable. A large part of the business troubles that have been visited upon certain parts of the country, and that seem to be impending for the country as a whole, are in consequence of the painful struggle of the economic structure to adjust itself to public policies that have brought us into a new and unstable period. This would be a much better country if every citizen—since all enjoy equal rights and exercise equal governing authority—should bear his share of the burden instead of trying to force it upon somebody else. The weight of taxation would be far less, and the prosperity of the whole country would be increased, if the fallacy of highly discriminating rates could be honestly faced, fully exposed, and healthily rejected. In the long run we shall find it as disastrous as it is cowardly and unworthy to penalize business and professional success by excessive taxes, in a country where education and opportunity are free for everybody.

*The System
As Applied
in 1913*

When the Sixteenth Amendment was adopted, and made a part of the Constitution early in 1913, there was much doubt as to the wisdom of conferring the Income Tax power upon Congress. Almost four years had elapsed after the amendment was submitted to the States in 1909 before a sufficient number of ratifying legislatures could be counted. That this power of direct taxation should come to be applied with such drastic and fanatical discriminations did not enter the minds of anybody in that period. It is true that the extreme wing of the Socialist party had always



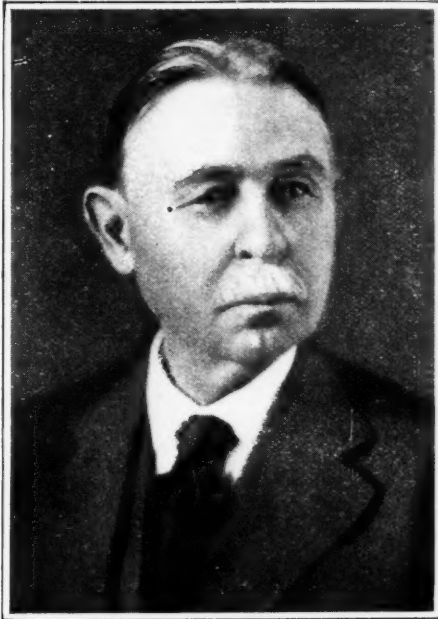
UNCLE SAM IS AFRAID CONGRESS IS DETERMINED TO THROW AWAY THE BEST POSSIBLE CHANCE TO REDUCE TAXES

From the World (New York)

avored high rates of discriminating taxation with a view to the gradual absorption of wealth by collectivist agencies. But even those radical doctrinaires would not have thought ten years ago of imposing such rates in peace time as the Democrats and radicals at Washington have been demanding in the present session of Congress. The Amendment having been adopted, Congress at once proceeded to give it effect. Hon. Cordell Hull of Tennessee was the chief author of that Income Tax law of 1913, which applied to personal incomes above \$4,000, the normal rate being 1 per cent. Surtaxes were an additional 1 per cent. on amounts from \$20,000 to \$50,000, 2 per cent. from the last sum to \$100,000, and 3 per cent. on all higher incomes. The yield for 1914 was \$71,000,000, and for 1915 it was \$80,000,000. The fiscal year 1917 found the rates increased somewhat, and the income tax yield had grown to \$360,000,000.

*Theory and
Practice of
War Levies*

Then came the high war rates, which brought the 1918 income tax proceeds to more than \$2,800,000,000. There were no impressive objections raised against high taxes during and immediately after the war. When one's country is involved in a struggle of that kind, nobody ought to be making money. Profits, beyond what was necessary to maintain business efficiency, might well have been absorbed completely by the Government. If we should have another war, we should not end it with a colossal war debt. It would be much easier to pay the full costs of a war as incurred than ever afterwards. The efforts and the resources of every citizen are subject to the Government's orders in war time; and, with a proper distribution of the burden from 1917 to 1921, we should have avoided much subsequent trouble. The high taxes that were levied on corporation profits, on incomes, and on other available resources were entirely permissible for war purposes. But the system should have been carried to logical conclusions. Neither labor nor capital should have profiteered. However, we were under the clouds of the traditional finance of the early Nineteenth Century, with its highly technical fallacies about permanent debts, sinking funds, and the like. Such being the prevailing notions, we did very well to pay as much of the war cost as we actually did pay by taxation



HON. FURNIFOLD McLENDEL SIMMONS, SEN-
ATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA

(Senator Simmons has had great experience in dealing with measures of taxation and finance. While the Democrats were in power, during the period from 1913 to 1919, he was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. He led the Senate in passing the Underwood Tariff and was foremost in opposing the Fordney-McCumber bill. He had much to do with the enactment of drastic and elaborate taxes of the war period, and stands firmly for the continuance of war-time tax methods in times of peace.)

during the conflict and immediately afterwards. In the four years following 1917, we levied and collected taxes to an aggregate extent of considerably more than twenty billion dollars. With a different system, we could have reduced the cost of the war and paid for it all by six years' taxation.

*A Distinction
to be
Grasped*

Henceforth, let us hope, people may learn to distinguish between the public burdens of war time and those of peace. War in the full sense, as we understand it now, is a matter that involves life and death for individuals and families as well as for the nation itself. A domestic war-debt (of long continuance) under such conditions is an absurdity. By way of contrast, a community in time of peace provides itself with a water supply system, for example, that is expected to survive through more than one generation. In such cases, it may be

both convenient and just to incur a bonded debt and pay off gradually, by means of taxation, the cost of public improvements. Although at Washington they are talking a good deal about relieving citizens by reducing the total amount of the Government's requisitions, the real question at issue is not so much one of reducing taxes as of changing the method of levying them. Later on, it is true, we ought to reduce the sums total of federal income and outgo by a large amount. But we are still struggling with governmental conditions created by the war; and it is desirable to continue the reduction of the war debt at as rapid a rate as possible.

The Government and "the Rich" It has been constantly urged against Secretary Mellon's proposals that his reduced scale of surtaxes on high incomes is intended to relieve the rich. But this certainly is not Mr. Mellon's motive, nor is it a sound contention—when studied apart from motives, personalities, and class prejudices—that it would have this effect as its chief consequence. The object of taxation is to raise as much public revenue as is needed, with as little disturbance of the normal operation of economic processes as possible. The thing to consider is the general good, and not the claims of individuals or classes. There is no absolute right of private property, and we owe our hold upon whatever we call our own to the safeguards of stable government. It is government that protects real-estate titles, and that makes the accumulation of property through thrift and effort a process that can be relied upon. If, therefore, the State should choose to levy large taxes upon property holdings at the death of the owner, there can be no objection in principle, while there may be much reason for differences of opinion as to the rates and the methods.

Power to Curtail Fortunes

In like manner, it is an unquestioned function of the State to levy taxes; and it has always been open to our individual commonwealths to employ the income-tax for their own purposes. Since 1913, the Federal Government has also had authority to levy income taxes upon persons as well as corporations. Furthermore, it is obviously permissible to levy income taxes at varying rates. But whether or not such a system of arbitrarily progressive rates is desirable is a question that must be decided in the light of study

and experience. It has been held in times past by some eminently respectable people that no American citizen should be allowed to own or control more than one million dollars' worth of property. There are many wiser thinkers, however—and equally respectable—who do not believe that making the rich poorer by arbitrary seizures, whether of their income or of their capital, will make the poor any richer or will enhance the prosperity of the community at large. This is a country where every citizen has equal political power; and, since the very rich are comparatively few, the power is always in the hands of the great majority so to change constitutions and laws as to bring about a redistribution of property.

Our Point of View Ten Years Ago

By sufficiently energetic enactments of that kind, this country might make itself almost as miserable as Russia, within less than five years. Discriminating taxes are indeed a powerful instrument—a means by which profound changes of one kind or another may be brought about. It is well to have in mind the great distance in these matters of taxation that we have travelled in the past ten years. When we levied the income tax that yielded about seventy millions in



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND SECRETARY MELLON STAND WITHOUT FLINCHING UPON THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSITION THAT TAXES MUST COME DOWN. THEY STILL POINT TO THE RESOLUTION THEY MADE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW YEAR

From the News (Dallas, Tex.)

1914, our object was to make the national revenue system more elastic, so that if the internal revenue rates and the customs rates were not yielding enough we should supplement the amount by variable income-tax levies. Democrats had come into power, and we had adopted the new Underwood Tariff. Whereas the Payne-Aldrich duties had been yielding us more than three hundred millions a year, the new customs rates had reduced the total by one-third. We were gaining in internal revenue receipts, especially on spirituous liquors and tobacco, but we needed the yield of the low income-tax rates to balance the budget.

*Influence
of British Tax
System*

The economists and tax experts who had encouraged the enactment of that income tax of 1913 were under the influence of the English system, as it was then in operation. Accumulated wealth in invested forms was much more highly developed in England than in the United States. British laws and traditions were relatively more favorable than ours to the wealthy classes. The income tax, therefore, was more obviously applicable to their conditions, while the customs taxes were relatively better adapted to ours. The English income taxes before the war—that is to say, at the time when we began to levy our income taxes—were at the rate of about 4 per cent. on earned incomes under \$10,000, and 5 per cent. on unearned incomes. Between ten and fifteen thousand dollars, the rate was 5 per cent. on earned and slightly more on unearned incomes. A supertax of 2½ per cent. was levied on incomes above \$25,000, the extra tax beginning at the \$15,000 point. There were no progressive rates except these. There were some rebates allowed for dependent children in the case of incomes under \$2,500. Speaking in general, all English incomes were taxed, with small ones at from 4 to 5 per cent. and those above \$25,000 at 7½ per cent. "The shilling in the pound"—that is to say, 5 per cent.—was regarded as a pretty high normal tax, and the sixpence addition (making a total of 7½ per cent.) was viewed as a considerable tribute exacted from wealth.

*Motives in
the Writing of
Tax Rates*

These comparisons are presented in order to show how far we have gone from the ideas and methods of taxation that prevailed ten years ago. It is not to be inferred that



ALEXANDER WHITE GREGG, TAX EXPERT

(Mr. Mellon does not run the Treasury Department single-handed, but has an array of talent that helps to work out difficult problems and that aids in estimating the probable results of any given tax measure. One of the most brilliant of these experts is the young economist pictured above. He is a Texan, and a special assistant to the Secretary)

we have taken a brief for the cause of the fortunate possessors of great wealth, or that we regard them as the victims of injustice or of persecution. They are in no trouble, and need no defenders. We are merely reminding our readers that taxation for the sake of obtaining public income is one thing, while taxation having a different motive should be recognized for what it really is. In the early sixties, we levied a 10 per cent. tax on the circulation of State banks, the object being not to produce revenue but to drive paper money of that kind out of existence. We have at various times levied particular import taxes intentionally high enough to be prohibitive, therefore producing no revenue. Mr. Mellon has undertaken to show that our highest rates of surtax defeat themselves from the standpoint of revenue production. Thus, in 1916, we had 206 personal incomes reported as of one million dollars or more. In 1920 there were only thirty-three. In 1921 there were twenty-one. Of incomes between a half million and a million, there were three times as many in 1916 as in 1920. There was similar shrinkage in the number of incomes reported in all the eight classes

above \$100,000. At the same time, the number reported in the several different classes from \$50,000 down to \$3,000 had enormously increased.

Still on War-time Financial Basis As a problem in taxation for the sake of procuring revenue, Mr. Mellon and his advisers have reached the conclusion that a rate of 25 per cent. on the larger incomes would yield more money than any higher rates. Their calculations are not in serious dispute. If Mr. Mellon were proposing these rates as a permanent thing, a strong argument could be made against him on the ground that such exactions are far too high. Flat rates of 5 per cent. on all incomes below \$10,000 and of 10 per cent. on all incomes in excess of that amount would, from the revenue standpoint, prove to be fruitful and satisfactory in yielding results. The thing to be learned is that taxation methods appropriate to war conditions may be grotesquely out of place when normal conditions have been fully restored. The economic system of a war period should be that of militarized Government monopoly, or socialism, to a very high degree if not to the fullest extent. Our tax rates were not, therefore, too high in the recent war; on the contrary, they were not high enough. But in a sense the war is still with us, because our failure to pay our war bills as we went along has left us under the painful necessity of meeting what must amount to a considerable war bill each year for a generation to come. Mr. Mellon's rates are therefore merely transitional ones, recognizing as they do the fact that financially we are still to a considerable extent on the war footing.

"Evasions" and Ethics The laws themselves define what is an income for purposes of taxation. In our opinion, the laws and rulings are needlessly complicated, highly defective, and in many respects illogical. But there is no possible course, either for the individual who is making out a tax report or for the Government itself, but to apply the law as it is. There is nothing in the text of the law, nor in the ethical principles underlying it, that would compel a man who has a large income derived from the practice of his profession to work extra hard, and extort larger fees from his clients, in order to report more income in the high brackets so that he may give 58 per cent. of these extra earnings

to the tax collector. Neither is there anything in the law or in the ethics of the case that would require a property owner to risk his assets in active forms of business in order that, if fortune favored his ventures, he might be able to report large gains and pay correspondingly increased taxes. Nothing could be more futile than to rail at the owners of large wealth because the million-dollar reports have so greatly decreased in number. The Government employs thousands of experts who scrutinize the returns. There is no possible way for a wealthy person to evade his obligations under the income-tax law, except through the dishonest connivance of the Government itself.

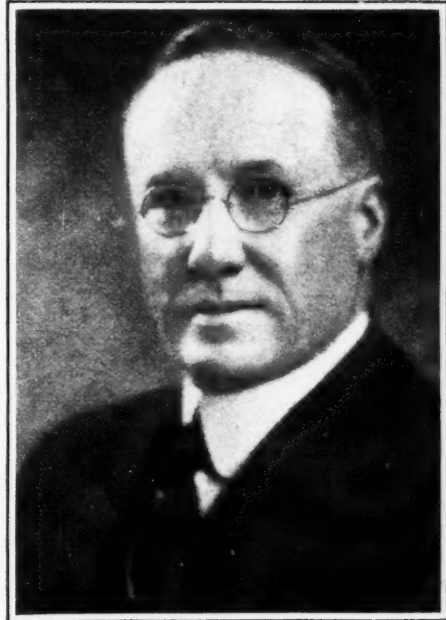
Shifting Investments and Tax Yields It is not evasion of the law to comply with its specific requirements, whether some of these clauses and rulings seem to work for or against the taxpayer. Reasonable and sensible rates would encourage the use of capital in active ways, so that it might produce larger income—to the benefit of Government and taxpayer alike, but most of all to the benefit of the country as a whole. If money engaged in active enterprises could earn 10 per cent. or more, and pay the Government a quarter of it, the taxpayer would still be in good shape, while the country would benefit by the productive activities of the capitalist. If the wealthy individual should, on the other hand, invest in foreign bonds at 6 per cent. and pay the Democratic surtax rate of 40 per cent. to the Government, each of these two parties would, relatively, lose something, and the country would lose most of all.

Shall Local Bonds Be Taxed? For some time the federal government, with a great war on its hands, had dominated everywhere, and local enterprises had been retarded. It is not strange that States, cities, counties, and townships should now wish to make up for lost time by building good highways, improving their schools, and providing themselves with various other desirable facilities. The people who make these local expenditures are aware that they must pay their own bills, and they are likely to scrutinize what they are doing with far greater care than is exercised at Washington over the outlay of public money. In some minds it arouses pity as well as indignation when place-holders at Washington take it upon them-

selves to lecture the localities for making these tardy expenditures. The assuming of superior wisdom at Washington, as if the States and their local governments derived power in these matters from the federal authority, has been resented in some quarters, but not sufficiently. There is no political or economic reason why such localities should be taxed upon their investment in a sewer system or a new high school building by the federal government. If the State itself exempts the bonds of its various local authorities from taxation, direct or indirect, there is ample ground for refusing to permit these bonds to be taxed at Washington. The localities are entitled to as favorable a market as they can find for their bonds. To argue that their tax-exempt status enables wealthy investors to evade the payment of income taxes is to state only a small fragment of the case. To subject the income of these bonds to federal taxation would compel the localities to pay a much higher rate of interest, and would doubtless result in a wider distribution of the bonds among people of smaller means, who pay little or no income taxes. Thus the federal government would gain little, while the local governments would be compelled to borrow at almost double rates.

*British
Income-tax
Rates*

During the war, the English income rate steadily advanced until all large incomes for a year or two paid three shillings in the pound (15 per cent.), then for some time five shillings, and from 1918 to 1922 this rate was six shillings, falling back to five shillings as the so-called "standard rate" two years ago. One year ago the rate was again reduced, by half a shilling (to 4s. 6d.). A "shilling in the pound" is 5 per cent.; and the English standard rate on all incomes under the enactment of April, 1922, was thus made 25 per cent., with exemptions on incomes below \$750 (for bachelors) and \$1,250 for married persons, and with certain family rebates. Under this law, half the standard rate was levied on the first £225 of taxable income. Above that figure, the standard rate of five shillings was applicable. The rate of 1923 reduced the standard rate to 22½ per cent. If we were to adopt rates fairly equivalent to the English, we should have a set of exemptions running from about \$1000 to \$2000, according to family circumstances, and then levy a rate of 12½ per cent. up to, say, \$4000, fixing a uniform,



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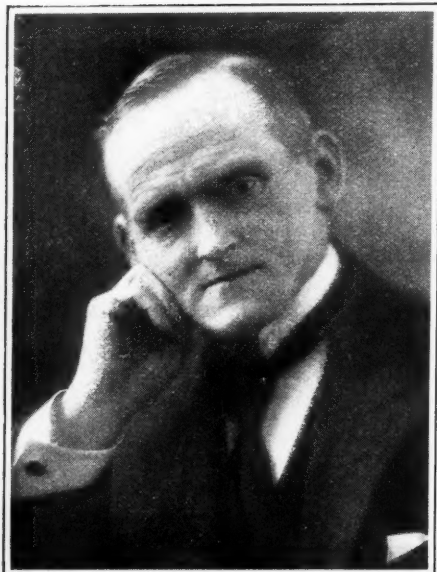
**HON. DAVID H. BLAIR, COMMISSIONER OF
INTERNAL REVENUE**

(Mr. Blair, who is a prominent business man of Winston-Salem, N. C., holds one of the most difficult and responsible positions under the Government. A Senate committee is investigating his bureau, but the methods under inquiry are those which Congress itself has established by law. Mr. Blair and his immense tax organization are credited with much good work under difficult conditions, due mainly to the complications of the income-tax code)

non-progressive standard rate of from 20 to 25 per cent. upon all taxable income above the line of \$4000. The English rightly regard a standard rate of 25 per cent. as extremely burdensome; but, in proportion to their productive national wealth, they have heavier loads to carry than do Americans.

*Seen From
the English
Standpoint*

Britain has a national debt of between thirty-five and forty billion dollars; and it costs somewhere from a billion and a half to two billion dollars a year to meet the charges on these obligations. As we have already shown, the standard income-tax rate, before the burden of war finance grew so heavy, was something like 5 per cent. If a British Chancellor of the Exchequer were dealing with the budgetary situation at Washington, he would probably fix upon a standard income-tax rate for the United States of about 10 or 12 per cent. flat, after having made certain exemptions, allowances, and rebates for incomes under \$5000. There are



HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

(Whose recent budget speech won praise from British leaders of all parties. He has wiped out taxes on corporation profits and has abolished high duties on American automobiles)

no scientific tax authorities anywhere in the world who would regard our system of progressive surtaxes on large incomes as otherwise than harmful from every recognizable standpoint.

*Snowden
and His
Program*

Mr. Philip Snowden, the present British Chancellor, has always been ranked as one of the most extreme of the British Socialists; yet in his new budget he leaves the income-tax rate unchanged, merely remarking that under previous ministries during the past two years there had been a reduction of 25 per cent., and that, while a cut of an additional shilling had been hoped for, more benefit would accrue to the country as a whole from a continued policy of reducing the national debt. Furthermore, Mr. Snowden regarded it as better to relieve the workingmen's families by greatly reducing the customs dues on sugar, tea, cocoa, and certain other food articles, than to cut the income-tax to 4 shillings. He also believed it to be good business to cut off altogether the tax on corporation profits, and he has acted accordingly. Referring to this profit tax, Mr. Snowden said: "It was not loved by its parents; it was reviled by its subsequent

guardians; it was condemned by every party, not least by the Labor party; it quite obviously has only been awaiting its final doom." The intelligence of this Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer stands in refreshing contrast with the absurd and harmful tax ideas that are prevalent at Washington. It should be said that even at its most drastic levels, the English wartime tax on excess business profits made reasonable distinctions that our own Congress persistently refused to make.

*Our Local
Property
Levies*

Our States, cities, and rural communities are still relying mainly upon the direct property tax. This applies principally to land, buildings, railroads, and public utility corporations, together with such visible property as the farmers' livestock and machinery. Farm lands in the West enjoyed a speculative boom during and after the war, and assessments for tax purposes were greatly increased. With the deflation of crop prices, farmers found themselves not only paying wartime prices for the supplies that they bought and the labor that they employed, but they were also faced by local tax bills which were much larger than ever before. It is evident that our old-fashioned American direct property tax does not always work in an equitable way. In the State of New Jersey this year, the average rate of direct taxation is \$3.67 per \$100 of assessed valuation. This is particularly hard upon farmers in seasons when they are not making expenses. It also imposes a heavy burden on railroads and certain other corporations whose earning power is restricted by severe public regulation of the rates that they may charge for services. In the Northwest, many farmers are facing foreclosure or tax sales. The country is entitled to a really serious study of all these complicated questions of taxation, and such questions should be ruled out of party politics.

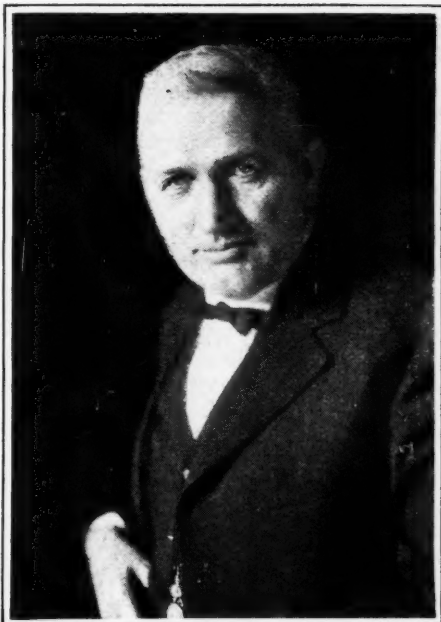
*Coolidge
Vetoes a
Pension Bill*

President Coolidge, on May 3, sent to Congress his first veto message. This applied to a general pension bill that bears the name of Senator Bursum of New Mexico, who is chairman of the Committee on Pensions. President Harding had vetoed a similar bill, also bearing Senator Bursum's name, with no subsequent attempt to pass it over the President's opposition. The bill just

vetoed had made its way through Congress with very slight opposition. It relates to pensioners of certain classes whose claims rest upon services all the way from the War of 1812 to the war with Spain a quarter of a century ago. It is estimated that the bill would increase our pension appropriations by about \$58,000,000 in the first year. It would add more than 25 per cent. to the pension rolls to which it applies. Mr. Coolidge calls attention to our frequent increases in pension payments, and states that we have already bestowed nearly six and a quarter billion dollars in pensions upon the survivors of the Civil War and their dependents. The Bursum bill proposes to pay all survivors \$72 each month, "without regard to their age, their physical condition, or their financial condition." At present, we are paying Civil War veterans \$50 a month, and veterans' widows from \$30 to \$45, according to age. There is no disposition to neglect the veterans of our wars. It is to be regretted that we have never been able to find a way to concentrate our public bounty upon those really needing it. We have done too little for some pensioners, and too much for others. As was expected Congress failed to pass this bill over the President's veto, though on May 13 the Senate sustained the President by a margin of only one vote.

*The Bonus
and the
President*

On the first day of May, the Senate approved the conference report upon the Insurance Bonus bill, the terms of which we have previously explained. There was no roll call, and no dissenting vote except that of Senator Underwood of Alabama, who has never tried to disguise his convictions on this issue. The House of Representatives on the following day also agreed to the conference report, Representative McKenzie of Illinois being the only member to protest, his objections being from the standpoint of a supporter of a real and substantial bonus for the men who actually fought in the war. The bill had passed the House by 355 to 54 and the Senate by 67 to 17. President Coolidge was waiting to obtain from the Treasury Department an estimate of the financial burdens that the Bonus bill would impose; but it was the general opinion that he would return the bill to Congress with a veto message that would expose its altogether unworthy character.



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HON. HOLM O. BURSUM, SENATOR FROM NEW MEXICO

(Mr. Bursum, in his youth, went to New Mexico from Iowa, and has been identified with Republican politics in that State for many years. He sits in the Senate to fill the unexpired term of A. B. Fall, and is chairman of the Senate Committee on Pensions.)

*The Issue
on its
Merits*

This bill does not give the genuine bonus advocates anything that they had been asking for; and yet it will impose a heavy burden upon the Treasury. It was understood that Congress would promptly pass the bill over a presidential veto. Sums that we are now voting year by year for veterans' relief are more than ample to provide for every case that is entitled to public aid. But, in addition to this, the individual States have already voted more than \$400,000,000 of bonus money. Citizen service in time of war is an essential obligation. No able-bodied man capable of bearing arms is exempt from this duty of service if he is needed. There is no obligation, either legal or moral, to make subsequent payments of money from the public treasury to ex-soldiers who are in unimpaired health, even though their war service may well have been to their private economic disadvantage. But for political pressure, the bill that has passed would have had no really serious consideration.

*Will Coolidge
Write Another
Veto Message?*

There was an endeavor on the part of the coalition leaders in the Senate to avoid the appointment of conferees on the tax bills and to persuade the House to vote directly upon the Senate measure, and accept it as it stood. Such a course would have left it to President Coolidge to decide whether or not to use his veto power. This strategy did not succeed, however, the House being unfavorable to the Senate's numerous changes, which had made the Senate's tax bill far less acceptable than that which had passed the House. While in our opinion the Mellon proposals as they stood were far better than the Longworth compromise bill, it is obvious that from the standpoint of sound and well-considered taxation the Longworth bill was far better than the Democratic bill which Senator Simmons, Senator Jones and others, had shaped and carried through the upper chamber with the help of the so-called LaFollette radicals. The Senate bill as passed had many bad features besides its high rates on personal incomes. Without the Senate amendments, the bill would probably escape a veto.

*Japan
and
Immigration*

In these pages last month, we devoted more than usual space to the subject of immigration and to the action of Congress in passing the Johnson bill. The Senate on April 18, by a vote of 62 to 6, had passed the bill with certain changes; but in essentials it was not very different from the House bill. Both measures took the census of 1890 as the starting point, with 2 per cent. as the immigration limit. The Senate's maximum admittance was 150,000. Speaking in general, restrictive features are decidedly more severe than they have been during the past two years. The unfortunate aspect of the whole business is the profound agitation that has been aroused in Japan. Popular feeling in that country has been enflamed to such a degree by the sensational Japanese newspapers that, if Japan were in any position to make war, it would be hard to prevent a naval attack upon this country by any means except by permitting Japan to dictate legislation at Washington upon what is a strictly American topic.

*American
Friendship
for Japan*

Every Japanese leader is perfectly aware that the United States, far more than any other country, is friendly to Japan. We have here

flourishing Japanese societies, and we appreciate every good thing about Japan, as does no other nation. Japan ought to be our best and most reliable friend, as far as international relations are concerned. But Japan has made her rise in the world so rapidly and with such brilliant success that her sensitiveness and her national egoism are as conspicuous as were the like traits in the United States at one time, and in Germany at another time. The most difficult of Japanese problems are due to the rapid growth of population, which makes an undue pressure upon the limited food resources of so small a country. If the Japanese could colonize California and our Pacific coast without let or hindrance, they would soon become undisputed masters of the Pacific, and could aspire to a commercial success and an imperial aggrandizement beyond that of the British or any other modern power. We have been receiving eastern and southern Europeans quite too rapidly for proper absorption into the American body politic, and we have at last determined to shut the gates sternly and abruptly. There are several European countries that are considerably displeased by our immigration policy; but that is something we cannot help. We are adopting a policy now that should have been adopted twenty or thirty years ago. Our policy regarding the colonization of the Pacific coast by Asiatic peoples is intended to deal with practical facts for practical reasons. It is in no sense whatever an insult or an affront to Japan.

*Exclusion
by Polite
Agreement*

Exclusion by law differs in no point of principle whatsoever from exclusion by the so-called "Gentleman's Agreement." We are heartily in accord with President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes in favoring the plan of postponing the exclusion clause in order to allow time for a new treaty with Japan. We have in this periodical so frequently expressed our appreciation of our Japanese friends that we are not in any fear of being misunderstood. Japan has had many hundreds of years in which to shape her racial character. She has succeeded so brilliantly that her people are always Japanese wherever they go and however long they stay. It was a mistake to admit thousands of picture brides to California, because this means that within a few years we shall have still more thousands of children born in California who will not be

absorbed in the main body of Californian citizenship, but who will be Japanese rather than Americans for generations to come. We have made a fairly plucky struggle with wilderness conditions here for three hundred years, and we are entitled to continue the experiment of trying to build up a homogeneous American nationality. And Japan's leaders know this.

*Strictly
An American
Affair*

A time will come, perhaps, when we may be justified in adopting a different sort of immigration policy from that which is necessary in 1924. But this must always be strictly our own affair, and never the affair of any foreign government. Under present policies, we are admitting people freely from Canada, and are virtually shutting the door against people from a number of European countries. This worries the European steamship lines, and piques certain hyphenated groups who are already too forthputting in this country; but it is not the concern of any European Government, and there is no fuss about it. The Japanese public simply misunderstands; because it is the victim of sensational journalism. The Japanese politicians, like our own, have to consider public opinion. Thus in the Japanese elections of last month the existing Cabinet met with a sweeping defeat on various grounds, but largely because it was felt by the crowd that the Cabinet and its diplomats ought to have been better able to control the situation at Washington. Secretary Hughes is right enough in wishing to take what the Japanese would regard as a polite and considerate way, in view of the past treatment of the immigration question under the "Gentlemen's Agreement." The Japanese have been willing to have Japan included in the quota arrangement; and this would have been decidedly best on many accounts. But there were certain objections to which Congress attached importance.

*Our Navy
Should Be Up
to Date*

Although there has been little disposition openly to connect the agitation about our naval strength with the anti-American sentiment that has been so bitterly expressed in Japan, there is no reason for refusing to be frank on the subject. Although the 5-5-3 ratio that was adopted in the Washington Conference was made applicable by treaty

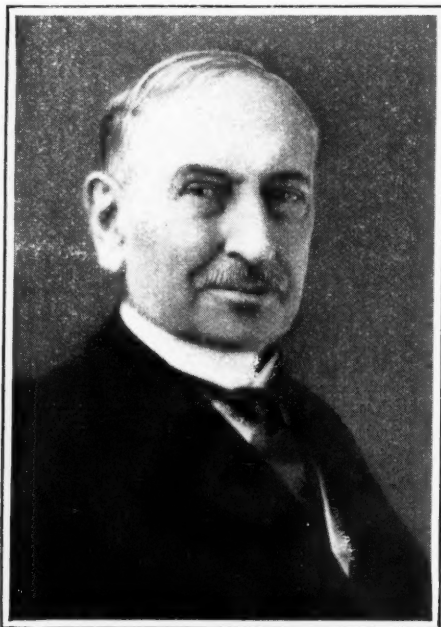


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HON. MASANAO HANIHARA, THE JAPANESE
AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

(Mr. Hanihara, who is one of the best trained and most acceptable diplomats of our time, is highly esteemed at Washington. Through a misunderstanding certain words of his were interpreted by our Senate as carrying the suggestion of a threat in case the pending Immigration bill should retain the Japanese exclusion clause)

only to so-called capital ships—that is, to battleships and large armored cruisers—it was nevertheless accepted in principle that England and the United States were not henceforth to seek to acquire naval superiority over one another in any way. And it was further understood that, with the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, the naval strength of Japan should be maintained at a cost and with an effectiveness that would keep it well below the British and American navies, but well above the navy of any other country. It is very hard to compute the naval strength of a maritime country at any given moment. The European experts assured the Spanish Government in 1898 that their naval equipment was much more powerful and efficient than that of the United States. But for that assurance, there would have been no Spanish-American War. Yet Dewey destroyed their naval strength in the Pacific with the utmost ease, and Sampson and Schley had a similarly easy time of it in the Atlantic.



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HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, OF CLEVELAND,
WHO WILL BE CONVENTION ORATOR

(Mr. Burton, in his seventy-third year, is a public man of unusual vigor, and typifies all that is best in the Republican party. After serving many years in the House, he was sent to the Senate for the term ending in 1915, and now holds a seat again as a Representative)

*Naval
Efficiency
Demanded*

Our naval authorities have had much to say about gun elevations and the modernizing of some of our warships. If Congress does not give them the modest appropriations necessary to supply the battleships with oil-burning engines and up-to-date gun action, public opinion should deal directly with the lawmakers on these issues. In a number of respects, our navy, upon which we spent so much money in the war period, has now fallen behind. An intelligent public may well frown upon politicians in Congress who squander public money on pension, bonus, and other measures in which they do not privately believe, while keeping the American Navy crippled at a time when it is one of the chief reliances of the world for a continuance of peace through a period of settling down and reconstruction. Of course our navy should have its proper quota of submarines and aircraft, its necessary supplies of fuel, and the modern engines requisite for an increased average of fleet speed.

*Primaries
Mostly for
Coolidge*

The upshot of Republican primaries in various States during April and May was to confirm the general view that President Coolidge was to be nominated at Cleveland without any real opposition. Even in Hiram Johnson's State of California, the Coolidge support carried by conclusive majorities; and Senator Johnson's presidential campaign was of course summarily ended. This was not a rejection of Johnson, however, but rather a Pacific coast acceptance of the obvious fact that the only course the Republican party can pursue is to give the present Administration a chance to take the field and fight in its own defense. The real questions at Cleveland are more likely to turn upon platform utterances. It is already understood that Mr. Coolidge's "running mate" is to be a western or middle-western Republican regarded as of progressive tendencies and in sympathy with the agricultural elements. Such a man might be Judge Kenyon of Iowa, ex-Governor Lowden of Illinois, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, Governor Hyde of Missouri, Senator Borah, Senator Capper or Henry J. Allen of Kansas.

*Burton
as Party
Spokesman*

The question of a temporary chairman and keynote orator was happily settled by agreement upon the veteran statesman who represents the Cleveland district in the House of Representatives. Hon. Theodore E. Burton is one of the best and most useful members of the Republican party, a man of sincerity and courage, a student and thinker, a veteran publicist of long experience. Like Judge Kenyon, he got most of his academic education at Grinnell, Iowa; but he returned to Ohio in his student days. After long service in the House of Representatives, he was for a six-year term a Senator from Ohio. Following several years of banking experience in New York and observation abroad, he returned to Cleveland and re-entered the House of Representatives in 1921. He is a member of the commission on the adjustment of the allied debts to the United States; has for long years been an advocate of world courts and international peace; and is a recognized authority in all fields of taxation and public finance. Moreover, Mr. Burton has oratorical ability and a voice that will fill the new Cleveland auditorium. In 1916 he was Ohio's candidate for the presidency.

*LaFollette
Doctrines at
Cleveland*

Senator LaFollette's supporters at Cleveland will be more interested in the platform than in the nominations. They will doubtless demand a continuance of investigations and departmental house cleaning at Washington. They will probably bring forward planks of their own advocating a more sweeping and drastic conservation program. It is not likely that the Republican platform will compromise in the slightest degree with the wets. President Harding, in his last speech-making tour, had committed the party to the enforcement of the Volstead act in the most confident and vigorous language, and there is no reason to think that any considerable minority of the convention will demand a platform expression that casts doubt even upon the Volstead act, much less upon the Eighteenth Amendment. Early in July the LaFollette forces will meet again in Cleveland, and then they will decide the question of a third ticket.

*McAdoo
and
Smith*

As for the Democratic situation, the primaries have focused interest upon Governor Smith and Mr. McAdoo, with no other candidate looming up conspicuously by reason of any strength shown in State contests. The McAdoo movement has developed much greater headway than was expected after the confusion produced by the Doheny testimony in the oil inquiry at Washington. So far as Mr. McAdoo is concerned, the oil disclosures seem to have done no permanent political harm. It might be said that he is hardly stronger or weaker than he would have been in any case as the month of June approaches. The more conspicuous change in the Democratic situation during recent weeks has had to do with the development of what is called the "Smith boom." We are publishing an article in this number on New York State affairs, which presents Governor Smith in his true setting. The business of the Empire State is of immense variety and importance, and the Hon. Alfred E. Smith has justly earned the reputation of being one of the ablest and most worthy Governors in a long succession that has included many statesmen of a high order. In finishing up the work of the last session, Governor Smith has applied his veto to about a hundred bills that the legislature had passed; and it would be conceded by his political opponents that these vetoes have been in the public interest, and have



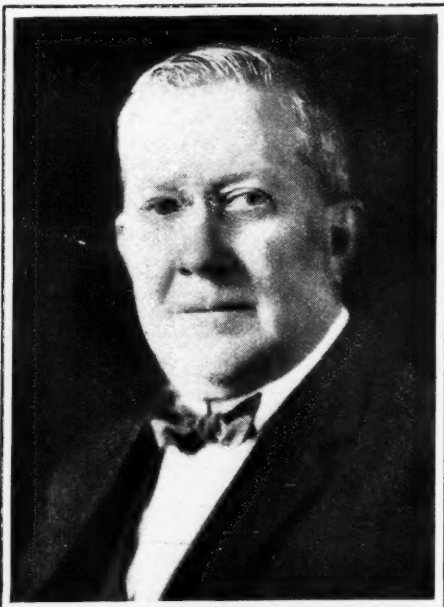
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JUDGE DAVID LADD ROCKWELL, OF OHIO
(Who is managing Mr. McAdoo's pre-convention campaign)

exhibited high intelligence as well as rare industry and alertness of mind. A powerful committee in New York State to support Governor Smith's presidential candidacy has been formed under the chairmanship of Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Our readers will note Mr. Roosevelt's authorship of the article we are publishing on the Governor's treatment of New York State issues.

*The Master
of
Tammany*

For many years past, the master of New York Democratic politics had been Charles Francis Murphy, who also held the post of leader of Tammany Hall. His death occurred on April 25 after an acute illness. He was in his sixty-sixth year and at the height of his political activity and power. He had succeeded Richard Croker, and had adapted his methods to a new and more refined period, with skill that won tributes of admiration even from those who wholly disapproved of Tammany and all its ways and works. In his youth he had done heavy work in an iron foundry and had been an amateur athlete of prowess, later becoming a street-car driver and then an East Side saloon-keeper. In those days, the retail



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**THE LATE CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY
LEADER OF TAMMANY HALL**

(Mr. Murphy's sudden death was followed by such tributes to his capacity for leadership and such favorable expressions from opponents as could not have been expected a few years ago)

liquor trade was deeply involved in Tammany politics, and it was easy for a saloon-keeper of Murphy's natural ability to become a local district leader. Thus he made his way steadily and at about the age of forty-five he was prepared to step into the shoes of Richard Croker, who was retiring from politics to live as a man of wealth on estates in Ireland. At the moment of his death, Murphy was supposed to be concentrating all his efforts upon what was to be the climax of his entire career in politics; namely, the nomination of Governor "Al" Smith for the presidency. He would have been in unquestioned command of the great New York State delegation in the June convention, and he was supposed to be on confidential working terms with so-called party bosses in several other States.

*Rallying for
Governor
Smith*

For a few days Murphy's death seemed to have dealt a serious blow to the Smith boom and to have brought corresponding aid to the McAdoo cause. But the Smith lines rallied promptly; and, without any estrangement from Tammany Hall, the movement

took on a much broader character through its vigorous endorsement by the non-Tammany Democratic leaders of the State. Thus a Smith campaign committee under the chairmanship of Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt was formed, and the party in New York City and State found itself more thoroughly united upon a presidential candidate than at any previous moment for half a century. Mr. Murphy had been in control of the State convention in 1922, which had assigned the governorship to Al Smith and the senatorship to Dr. Royal S. Copeland. He had been personally responsible for the rejection of Mr. Hearst by that convention. He was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral with honors hardly less impressive than any that had ever been shown to any public man in New York. This event coincided with the return from Rome of New York's new Cardinal, and with the more formal launching of Governor Smith's presidential boom.

*Sons of
New York
City*

The unstinted enthusiasm of New York City for these men who had grown up and made their way as East Side boys is worth more than a passing thought. We had long been accustomed to derive our leaders in Church and State from the sturdy training of rural life. But the city boys are now making their way to the front on their own merits. It behooves us to see that educational opportunities are not, henceforth, to be so much greater in the cities than in the country districts that we shall be choosing our leaders too rapidly from the crowded centers. After much earnest discussion behind the scenes, the great Tammany organization unanimously chose James A. Foley, Judge of the Surrogate Court, as Mr. Murphy's successor. Mr. Murphy left no children of his own, but his step-daughter had married Mr. Foley, and the departed leader had relied greatly upon this adopted kinsman. Later Judge Foley declined to serve as Tammany's chieftain, because of ill health.

*The Klan in
this Year's
Politics*

The supporters of Governor Smith seem to believe that they have a good chance to carry the convention. Republican on-lookers are generally inclined to the view that a compromise candidate will be chosen in Madison Square Garden. New York City and the supporters of Governor Smith

in general are naturally at swords' points with the Ku Klux politicians of the West and South. Of all the presidential candidates, Senator Underwood is the most outspoken in his antagonism to the Klan. This attitude has undoubtedly cost him support in several Southern States, but it makes him a favorite second choice of many Democrats in the North and East. In the Indiana primaries of May 5, the Democrats expressed no preference, although they will naturally give their complimentary vote to Senator Ralston. The Republicans gave Coolidge a large vote and Hiram Johnson a small one. The impressive thing in these Indiana primaries was the Republican contest over the governorship. Ed Jackson, Secretary of State, had the support of the Ku Klux Klan; and he polled more votes than his five opponents combined, one of these five being Lew Shank, Mayor of Indianapolis. Whether expressed openly or otherwise, it seems certain that the Klan influence is to be very powerful in this year's elections.



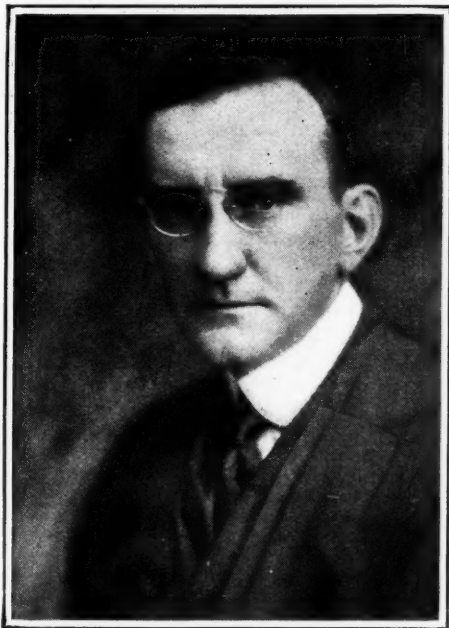
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HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK

(Mr. Roosevelt, who ranks with the foremost public men of the State of New York, was vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with James M. Cox four years ago. He was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in both terms of the Wilson Administration, thus filling a post now occupied by one of his kinsmen and formerly held by his cousin, the late Colonel Roosevelt. He is a lawyer by profession and engaged in many public-spirited activities. At the present moment he is the head of the New York Committee that is promoting the presidential candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith.)

Prohibition Arguments

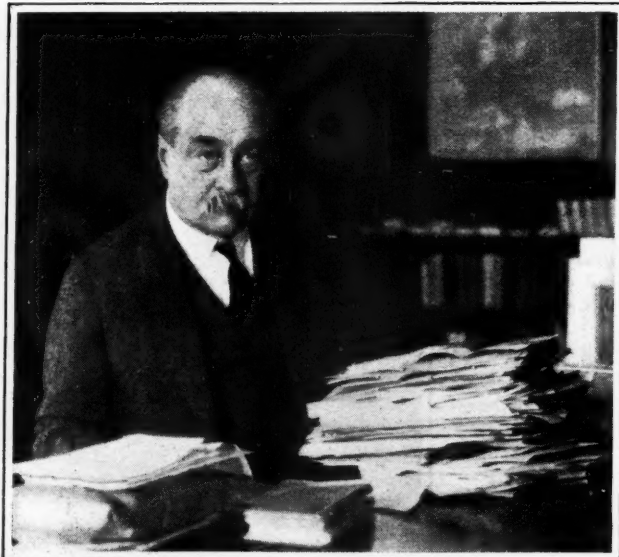
We have already remarked that the Republican convention would undoubtedly support the position taken by the late President Harding on the necessity of enforcing the laws, especially those relating to prohibition. In private circles, prohibition is under constant discussion. It is wholly desirable that it should be brought into the open, and faced with frankness as well as relentless publicity. There are many phases of the question, and it is essential that people should make sure that they are debating the same phase at a given moment. Alcoholism is a personal and social disease—a blighting evil that it is the duty of all the wholesome forces of our contemporary life to combat and destroy. Happily, alcoholism is much less prevalent now than at certain former times. Thus, whether we have legal prohibition or not, alcoholism is under condemnation for what it is. Personal temperance is to be inculcated by



© E. F. Foley

HON. JAMES A. FOLEY, WHO WAS OFFERED THE LEADERSHIP OF TAMMANY

(Mr. Foley, who is only forty-two years old, is also a product of New York's East Side, is a graduate of the City College and the New York University Law School, has served twelve years in the legislature [half in each House] and has more recently held the important position in New York of Judge of the Surrogate Court.)



DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

(Dr. Butler, in a recent speech before the Missouri Society of New York, expressed the view in emphatic terms that prohibition is a failure. He has since found himself in the thick of a raging controversy. Our illustration shows him occupied with some of the thousands of letters that he has received, the great majority of them supporting his contentions)

family and school training, and by wholesome social customs. To abandon the teaching and practice of temperance on the theory that prohibition laws have settled the business, once for all, is highly absurd. Yet it is greatly to be feared that the temperance movement in its best forms has been virtually abandoned as a sacrifice to political prohibition.

*Butler and
Pinchot on
Prohibition*

Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania has studied carefully the conditions of law enforcement in his own State; and he denounces the methods of the Federal Government under direction of the Treasury Department in its management of the Prohibition Bureau. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, agrees with Governor Pinchot as to the prevalence of law violation. Both of these distinguished leaders seem to think that the worst offenders are the officials charged with law enforcement. Governor Pinchot believes that there should be a genuine and a vigorous effort to prevent certain gross and scandalous violations of the law. Dr. Butler would also, undoubtedly, agree with Governor Pinchot in this respect; and it is fairly likely that men

of such energy as either one of these two, if charged with the business of enforcement, would at least stop the grosser and more obvious forms of impudent lawbreaking. Dr. Butler, however, is convinced that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act are not resulting in the expected reduction of the evils of alcoholism, and that they make a bad matter worse. It is entirely permissible to disagree with him; but to attack him for a courageous and sincere expression of his opinions is unworthy of intelligent citizens of a free country. There is no American who has better earned than Dr. Butler the right to hold and to express opinions upon questions of public policy;

for it would be hard to name anyone who has been a more assiduous student of facts and conditions.

*Free Speech—
But Enforce
Law!*

We are no longer a simple and uniform nationality of old American stock. We are more than two-thirds city folk; and our larger cities are inhabited principally by Europeans. It was the opinion of this periodical when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted that it would be extremely hard to enforce it. Even a State like Iowa had never been able to break up the saloon system, under State-wide prohibition, in the cities and towns along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. But we were also of opinion that national prohibition would have to be tried on its merits with the utmost endeavor to enforce it for at least ten years, before it could be pronounced a failure. We believe that the discussion aroused by Dr. Butler's speech before the Missouri Society has been timely and valuable, and that it will help both sides better to understand the difficult problems that confront us. The tendency in Canada and some other countries is away from total prohibition; but in many countries the evils of alcoholism are gaining

recognition, and public policies are being shaped towards the encouragement of temperance and the reduction of the power and influence of the drink industry. We urge our readers to take their stand for the enforcement of the laws. We cannot advise any one either to agree or disagree with those who think that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act stand for the best possible way to eliminate the evils of alcoholism. On this, as on all other issues of public importance, each citizen must do his own thinking, or at least should select some trusted leader or adviser upon whose conclusions he may feel that he can best rely.

*Final Points
in the Federal
Tax Bill*

As these pages were closing for the press, the Revenue bill had reached a stage that made a veto probable unless the Senate should recede from its principal amendments of the original measure. We return to the subject, therefore, in order to pass frank criticism upon the Senate's positions. Expectation of a veto was due largely to the strictures on the bill considered as a revenue raiser by Senator Smoot and other administration leaders. They calculated that the country would be headed for a deficit of hundreds of millions resulting from the mangling of the revenue program, together with new legislative provisions for future drains on the Treasury. But aside from this main point, the Administration was unalterably opposed to two supplementary details of the new Revenue bill—the Jones amendment, instituting a graduated tax on the undistributed current earnings of corporations, and the Norris provision for complete publicity of income tax returns.

*A Levy on
Undistributed
Earnings*

The device invented by Senator Jones to prevent corporation earnings from being kept as surplus is wrong and dangerous in both theory and practice. Whether any such proposal is carried through this year or not it is worth while to expose the viciousness of the theory, as it has been a favorite demand of certain Congressmen for years and will be advanced again. The author of the amendment believed that many corporations declare smaller dividends than their earnings might justify, to save their stockholders from the payment of personal income taxes on that part of such earnings as was retained in their surpluses. To remedy this fancied loss to the Government,



**TWO FAVORITE-SON CANDIDATES FOR THE
PRESIDENCY**

(At the left is Governor Silzer of New Jersey, and at the right Governor Smith of New York. The New Jersey delegation, after a complimentary vote for Silzer, will doubtless join the Smith forces)

the amendment provided for graduated taxes on all corporation earnings (over 10 per cent. of such earnings) that were retained in surplus instead of being paid out as dividends to become immediately taxable as personal income. It is not a matter of insuring that these corporation earnings are taxed; they are already and inevitably taxed, year by year, as soon as they are realized (sometimes before they are realized, owing to the drastic regulations of the Internal Revenue Department in the matter of instalment sales). The present anxiety on the part of certain law-makers is to insure these profits being immediately taxed a second time, as personal income.

*It Invites
Disastrous
Methods*

As to this, it is clear that such retained earnings will also be inevitably taxed, though not so immediately. If retained, they can only be used to produce further income

or be lost in the effort to do so. If the former, that new income pays its tax; if the latter, then the Jones amendment comes to the *reductio ad absurdum* of trying to prevent corporations from using earnings as working capital even though their need is so great for it that they finally fail because their earnings, although retained, cannot save them. But the main objection, after all, to this effort to tempt corporations to pay out as dividends nearly all their earnings—immediately, as fast as their books show them on paper—is that it flies in the face of every thrifty and prudent rule of corporation management. It is exactly like penalizing a young married couple for not spending all the husband's salary as soon as he gets it; or, rather, somewhat worse, because he at least holds the salary in the form of money, while the corporation's yearly earnings exist often in the form of accounts receivable, merchandise or fixed plant, subject as these are to all the vicissitudes of business, thus making it necessary to go out and borrow money to disburse as dividends if forced to take such action.

*An
Enemy to
Prudence*

The very first rules of sound corporation finance are the securing of adequate working capital and provision for additions to it for expansion and for a bulwark against panic and depressed periods. There is no greater single cause of business disaster and suffering to stockholders than the doing of the very thing that the Jones amendment tends to force the corporations to do—"milk" its treasury for immediate dividends nearly up to the full amount of its paper profits. Thousands of corporations have gone on the rocks because of this practice alone. The historic favorite practice of the looter of a sound business is to do just what the Government would, with the Jones amendment, be urging corporate management to do. If it be objected that 10 per cent. of earnings is exempt, and that this should be a sufficient addition to working capital, plant or merchandise—the answer is that neither Senator Jones nor any man or body of men can possibly say what fraction of corporation earnings should wisely be retained, for the simple reason that different businesses show infinite variations in their needs and that the same business shows infinite variations at different times in its history. One corporation may for years need not only 100 per cent. but more than

all of the earnings "ploughed back" into its business, to insure its life and stability. Another may with perfect propriety, at some given time, pay out all its earnings or 200 per cent. of its earnings of a given year.

*Hardest on
the Weakest
Concerns*

It also becomes immediately obvious that it is the struggling corporations, those building up into stability, which would be hardest hit by any such senseless law. One could count scores of notable American industrial achievements that would inevitably have been wrecked in their early days if they had to do the thing this plan tends to force them to do—pay out at once in cold cash practically all that they can figure out on paper they have earned. The proudest boast of our greatest railroad for a generation was that it put a dollar back into the business for every dollar it paid out in dividends. If the Pennsylvania had, instead, declared in dividends all but 10 per cent. of its earnings, it would now be in worse case than the New Haven, with scores of thousands of innocent people suffering, the class of stockholders who can least afford to be suddenly deprived of their bit of investment income. It is difficult to understand how such a proposal as this could have been approved by the United States Senate; economic understanding and a clear view of business principles are not widely diffused; but that our Senate should have so little of them as to do this thing that any well-managed village community bank or coöperative creamery would scorn to consider in its own business, is one of the mysteries of Congressional aberration.

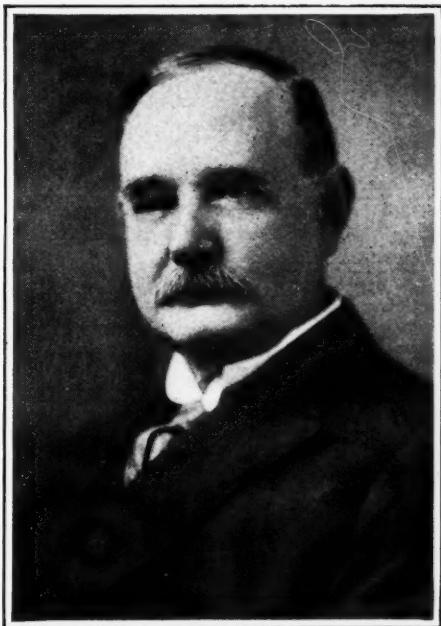
*Debatable
Efforts at
Farm Relief*

Since our comments on the McNary-Haugen bill in the May issue of this periodical, that measure for the relief of our farmers has not increased in favor with economists, though its supporters have been successful in keeping it before Congress and the country. No one disputes the trouble farmers are in, especially in the wheat-growing and cattle-raising West, largely because of the dropping back of prices of agricultural products from war-time levels, while the cost of articles the farmer must buy has not receded in anything like the same degree. But the question as to whether this bill, with its fixing of prices of farm products and its governmental "dumping" of their surplus on foreign markets at any price it will

bring, is going to give the farmer real relief or any amount of it commensurate with the cost of the device to other Americans, is a hotly debated one, with the best economic authorities inclined to condemn such a highly artificial plan.

*Defying
"Supply and
Demand"*

The practice indulged in by some individual producers of "dumping"—selling products abroad for lower prices than at home—is looked on askance by the commercial world. Our tariff is aimed against that very thing. There would be a strong chance of retaliatory legislation on the part of the British colonies, and there is much question whether a device so widely condemned by public opinion should be used by our Government itself. But this may be called purely theoretical—except for the danger of retaliatory action by countries that would suffer from such a plan. The more practical difficulty is the actual working out of this rather strong-armed interference with the law of supply and demand. It is proposed by advocates of the McNary-Haugen bill, for instance, that it would raise the price of hogs from the present \$6.50 per hundred pounds to the pre-war ratio figure of \$11 per hundred pounds. This might well be a fact so far as the United States is concerned, with foreigners paying very much less for their bacon and our own citizens having their cost of living raised by just so much. But with this enormous sudden increase in the price of hogs it is argued that there will be a corresponding increase in the supply of hogs raised; at the same time our own citizen consumers would have to cut down on their hog meat, with a resulting increase of the surplus that must be "dumped" at any price it will bring. Thus the true economic situation might be getting worse and worse. For as supply and demand influence prices, so prices influence supply and demand. It is difficult to get away from the hard facts of economics; if too much wheat and too many hogs are being raised to keep the price where it should be, the natural remedy is for labor to turn from this work into production of the things the farmer is buying at such high prices, thus tending to lower them while making for an increase in the prices of agricultural products. The shifting balance between supply and demand is an extremely complicated matter, and attempts to interfere with it must be carefully worked out.



HON. ANDRIEUS ARISTIEUS JONES, SENATOR
FROM NEW MEXICO

(Senator Jones, who is just entering upon his second term, has had a long career in law, politics, and business in his adopted State of New Mexico. He grew up in Tennessee, studied in Valparaiso, Indiana, and went to New Mexico almost forty years ago. He was Assistant Secretary of the Interior for several years during the first Wilson Administration.)

*The Barkley
Railroad
Bill*

Not since the Adamson Act has railway management been so exercised over a legislative proposal as in the matter of the Howell-Barkley measure which in the middle of May was being insistently pushed toward a vote in Congress. Even though the bill should pass, a presidential veto was confidently expected. The bill would do away with the Railway Labor Board and substitute four national boards of adjustment to take up differences between the railways and their employees over wages. Disputes which cannot be settled by these boards would be brought before a board of mediation and conciliation, and if this is ineffective, the parties may arbitrate but are not compelled to do so. The right of railway workers to strike is expressly protected.

*The Public
Left Out*

The railway managers point out that this proposal does away entirely with representation of the public, which now under the Railway Labor Board has its say in disputes

over wages. This, with the specifically legalized right of striking and the practical exclusion from the boards of adjustment of all non-union labor representation, raises a very serious question for the public which the railroads are meant to serve and which in the long run pays for their maintenance. The questions of railway rates and railway service are more dependent on the wage factor than all others put together. Most of the railway expense-dollar goes to labor. A comparatively small increase in wages would wipe out all collective railway profits, making it necessary drastically to increase freight rates as the only alternative to hopeless impoverishment, bankruptcy and inadequate service in our transportation system. The public has a mighty stake in the question whether railway wages shall be raised or lowered or left as they are and an interest no less vital in the question whether employees shall quit their work and stop the trains from running whenever they cannot get a raise of wages they have made up their minds to get. The Barkley bill would be a long step back toward the situation where, with harassed railway managers on the one side and employees determined to get more wages on the other, the managers, faced with the tying-up of their plant, were forced to forget altogether this great stake of the public at large.

*A Year of
Good Railroad
Management*

The railroads have been handling wage questions with success during the past year or so and the Labor Board, after some mistakes in judgment in its early history, seems to have been functioning well. In fact, the record of the past year or so in railway operation in the United States has been an exceedingly creditable one. Rates of railway wages have risen, but the carriers have gotten along with a reduced number of employees, leaving so many men free to work in other busy industries needing them, in spite of the fact that until last April the roads were carrying more freight per quarter than at any other period in their history. The country should wake up to the fact that the storm and stress of railway management and operation has brought to the front a number of men who are doing a great industrial job and doing it well—a remarkable proportion of them having come up through decades of patient, honest, intelligent endeavor from the very lowest ranks of railway workers. Not only has

the unprecedentedly large bulk of freight offered during the year preceding last April been carried with efficiency, punctuality and at rates constantly decreasing; when the tide turned this spring and railway traffic began to fall off, reaching the point in May where some authorities calculated that the roads could handle 40 per cent. more freight than was offered—yet so wisely has the situation been managed that operating expenses were coming down even faster than the total freight traffic.

*Give Rail-
roads a
Living Chance*

A year or so ago the shrewdest investors and heads of great financial institutions were throwing up their hands in despair over the railway situation. Conservative and well-managed institutions with tens of thousands of small depositors and investors and trust funds to protect were getting rid of their railroad securities as fast as they could without inordinate sacrifice. Now the transportation industry is "coming back." It is a great managerial exploit to have brought it back. The roads earned a fair amount over interest charges and operating expenses last year and for the first quarter of 1924 are continuing their good showing in spite of the sudden drop in traffic. It is true that they are not yet earning so much as is prescribed as the ideal figure by the Esch-Cummins act, and until there is that modest degree of railway prosperity, it is scarcely likely that the roads as an industrial group will be out of the woods financially: in other words, be able to sell their stock at par or better when they absolutely need money for extensions and improvements, instead of adding to the already top-heavy bulk of bond issues.

*Domestic
Issues in the
French Elections*

The French elections of May 11 were interpreted by most of the foreign correspondents, and also by the American newspapers, in terms of international relations. This was natural enough, because public attention outside of France had been focussed upon the report of the Dawes Commission, the results of French policy in the Ruhr, and the prospects of a final settlement of reparations. The internal problems of the French people are little understood and seldom discussed in other countries, and the Parisian press does not help the foreigner to understand what is going on in France as a whole. Our readers should, therefore, be reminded

that early in March the French franc, which is normally worth 19.3 cents of our money, had drifted to the low exchange value of 3.42 cents; so that an American dollar, instead of being worth five francs, was exchanging for nearly thirty. At that time the Poincaré Government arranged for a New York credit of \$100,000,000 to be used in checking the decline of the franc, while Poincaré, on March 15, won the greatest fight of his political career in securing from the Senate the acceptance of an extraordinary financial measure that had already passed the Chamber of Deputies. This bill conferred upon the premier and his cabinet extraordinary powers regarding public expenditure, not only national but departmental, municipal, and local, throughout France. The measure also provided for greatly increasing the current rates of taxation.

*The Financial
Measures of
March*

The Senate had for a time persistently refused to grant the premier the power to adjust financial details throughout France by executive decree. But the emergency was so serious that the Senate finally yielded and the authority was granted for a period of four months. There has followed an arbitrary scaling down of public expenditures and a sharp increase in the rates of taxation, all for the sake of saving France from further monetary inflation and from the disasters that overtake governments when their expenditures are continuously larger than their current receipts. It should be remembered that the public debt of France, which was something like thirty billions of dollars at the end of the war, has been steadily increasing until it is now more than twice as large as it was in 1919. The French peasants are thrifty, and have been making money for years past. They do not object so much to indirect taxes, and they are always ready to invest their savings in government bonds of small denominations. But they dislike extremely to pay heavy direct taxes.

*Poincaré
Had Done
His Work*

Thus the income-tax system that the English people accept with such grim logic and in such good spirit, in spite of the wry faces they make, is a kind of exaction that could never be undertaken in France. The French have never, under any circumstances, levied an income tax. Of all the different

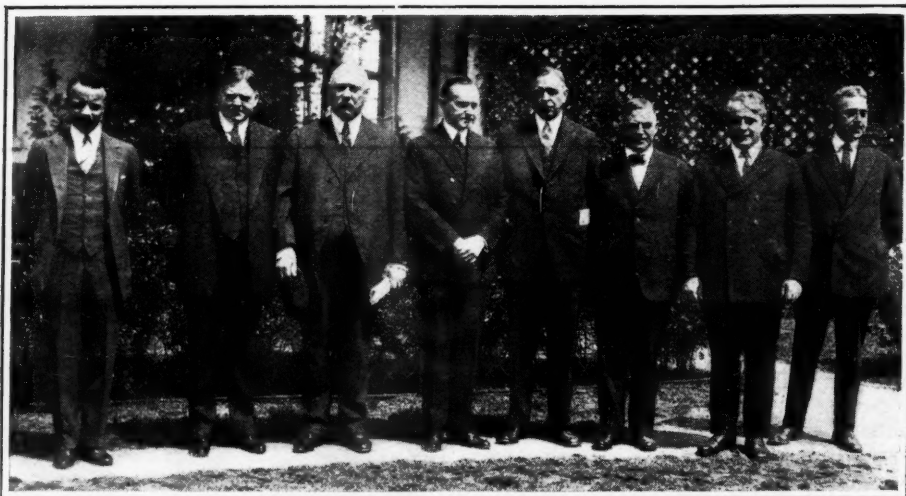


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M. EDUARD HERRIOT, WHO WILL PROBABLY SUCCEED M. POINCARÉ AS FRENCH PREMIER

(M. Herriot, who was a professor in his youth and has long served as Mayor of his city of Lyons, is an extreme liberal in politics)

kinds of imposts that make up the French national revenues, direct taxes have hitherto contributed only about one-tenth of the total receipts. These direct taxes were increased sharply under the recent authority given to Poincaré. And this domestic situation has affected every department, arrondissement, and commune in France. So there was reason enough to expect a sharp reaction in the general parliamentary elections of May 11. Poincaré had paved the way for the Dawes plan by having turned the Ruhr military occupation into an economic success. He had saved France from an impending collapse of the franc and of national solvency by his brilliant parliamentary triumph in March. It may well be that the picturesque and popular Mayor of Lyons, M. Herriot—or Briand, the Ramsay MacDonald of France—may prove to be as good a man as Poincaré to take up at the present stage the further negotiations over the Dawes report. We may not know until the new chambers meet on June 2 what leader will become premier. Our readers will turn with great interest to Mr. Simonds' discussion (see pages 593-603) of the international situation that results from the German and French parliamentary elections.



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, WITH THE CABINET COMMITTEE THAT ORGANIZED THE CONFERENCE ON OUTDOOR RECREATION

(Left to right are: Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary Hoover, Secretary Weeks, President Coolidge, Secretary Work, Secretary Wallace, Secretary Davis, and L. F. Kneipp, who was Secretary, under Mr. Roosevelt as Chairman)

*A
Recreation
Conference*

In April, President Coolidge issued a statement calling for a conference on outdoor recreation with Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as executive chairman. Secretaries Weeks, Work, Wallace, Davis, and Hoover are associated as honorary chairmen. The President's intention was to bring together all societies and movements that are importantly concerned with the promotion of outdoor life, in order to unify their aims and programs. A three-day gathering at Washington, beginning on May 22, was arranged, with a program dealing with many interesting phases of American life and national resources. We shall be glad in our next number to publish some account of this conference and its conclusions.

*Dr. Elwood
Mead Heads
Reclamation*

As pointing to the new policies that circumstances have made necessary in dealing with the Government's reclamation projects, the Bureau of Reclamation in the Interior Department has come under new leadership. Hon. Elwood Mead, of California, with whose work in land colonization our readers have been made well acquainted, has been appointed by President Coolidge as Commissioner of the Reclamation Bureau. An extensive report upon existing reclamation projects, with recommendations as to

measures necessary to be taken with regard to several of them, has been made by a commission of which Dr. Mead was a member; and this will be available for study and comment during the present month.

*Unfailing
Welfare
Efforts*

With all the bluster and friction of politics, and the occasional flings at the United States in foreign journals, the American disposition to carry on projects of a kindly and helpful sort is not easily repressed. Last month Mrs. Vanderlip and other American women were earnestly engaged in securing funds for the rebuilding of a woman's college in Japan, and everywhere this met with encouragement because Americans have the most genuine good-will towards the Japanese people. Meanwhile, Mrs. Winifred Holt Mather, whose efforts for twenty years on behalf of the blind have been so well supported and so successful, has been busily engaged in winning the necessary financial backing for the French Lighthouse which is to bring help and comfort to the French soldiers who lost their vision during the Great War. No objects could be more worthy of support than these. The Near East Relief continues to make good use of all the funds it can obtain for the millions of refugees, especially for the many thousands of young orphans who will be trained under American leadership.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 14, 1924)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 15.—The Senate adopts without roll call an amendment to the Immigration bill, excluding all aliens ineligible to citizenship except professional classes and students.

The Senate rejects Mr. Samuel Knight as nominee for special Government counsel to sue for recovery of sections 16 and 36 within the California Naval Reserve No. 2.

In the Senate, the Soldier Bonus bill is presented by Mr. Curtis (Rep., Kan.).

April 16.—The Senate reaffirms its adoption of the amendment excluding unassimilable aliens by a formal vote of 71 to 4, the minority consisting of Republicans; another amendment adopted would limit immigration after July 1, 1927, from all countries, to 150,000 aliens a year.

April 17.—In the Senate, the House immigration quotas are adopted, 56 to 23, limiting the alien influx to 160,000 a year.

The Senate begins its investigation of facts behind the indictment of Senator Wheeler (Dem., Mont.).

April 18.—The Senate passes the Immigration bill, 62 to 6, with alien quotas based on 2 per cent. of the 1890 census, and excluding unassimilable aliens; the bill goes to conference, there being several divergences from the House measure.

The House passes the appropriation bill for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and Labor, amounting to \$64,500,000, and providing \$1,200,000 to increase the border guard against smuggling of aliens.

In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) announces appointment of a Foreign Relations sub-committee composed of Messrs. Pepper (Rep., Pa.), Brandegee (Rep., Conn.), Shipstead (Farmer-Labor, Minn.), Swanson (Dem., Va.), and Pittman (Dem., Nev.), to hold public hearings on the proposal that the United States join the World Court.

April 19.—The House appropriates \$1,500,000 for fighting the hoof-and-mouth disease, especially among California cattle.

April 21.—The House adopts a resolution for investigation of land grants to the Northern Pacific Railroad, and it goes to the Senate.

Both houses receive a special message from President Coolidge asking for revision of the Reclamation law in accordance with a report of six experts; it is recommended that about \$27,691,446 be written off the Government books as unavoidable loss.

April 23.—The Senate passes the Soldier Bonus bill, 67 to 17, without the cash option feature; it provides paid-up insurance for service men.

April 24.—In the Senate, the tax-reduction debate is opened, Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) advocating the Mellon schedule and Mr. Jones (Dem., N. Mex.) leading the opposition.

The House Agricultural Committee reports favorably on the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill to establish a \$200,000,000 Government corporation for selling surplus farm products abroad.

April 26.—In the House, a resolution aiming to abolish child labor by amendment of the Constitution is adopted by vote of 207 to 69; the amendment would regulate or prohibit labor by children under eighteen years of age.

April 29.—The Senate passes the annual navy supply bill, without record vote, adding \$700,000 to the House measure.

April 30.—The Senate approves a reduction of 25 per cent. in the tax on earned incomes up to \$10,000 and also the House arrangement which assumes that incomes less than \$5,000 are earned.

May 1.—The Senate, without roll-call, adopts the conference report on the Insurance Bonus bill.

May 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Warren, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, estimates the total expenditure for investigations will have reached \$325,000 by the end of the fiscal year.

The Senate votes, 48 to 27, for complete publicity of tax returns, thus eliminating the provision limiting inspection to authorized Congressional committees; by vote of 47 to 26, the public is given access to refund records (abatements have increased from \$28,000,000 in 1921 to \$220,000,000 in 1923).

The House adopts without roll call the conference report on the Insurance Bonus bill, which passed originally by vote of 355 to 54; President Coolidge sends the measure to the Treasury for an estimate of cost before acting upon it.

May 5.—In the Senate, Mr. King (Dem., Utah) moves for a joint Congressional investigation of Admiral Coontz's charge that the Navy is not being maintained at its proper efficiency. . . . Similar resolutions are offered in the House by Messrs. Britten (Rep., Ill.) and Rogers (Rep., Mass.).

In the Senate, a coalition of Democrats and radical Republicans defeats the Mellon tax plan by substituting for it higher surtax and lower normal rates, proposed by Mr. Simmons (Dem., N. C.).

The House discharges the Committee on Interstate Commerce from further consideration of the Howell-Barkley bill to abolish the Railroad Labor Board; the vote is taken under a new rule, following a petition signed by 150 members.

May 6.—The Senate authorizes the committee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau to employ counsel, ending the controversy over the private employment of counsel by Mr. Couzens (Rep., Mich.).

In the Senate debate on the Muscle Shoals offer of Henry Ford, Mr. Norris (Rep., Neb.) criticizes the President, Mr. Ford, and Senators Heflin (Dem., Ala.) and Harrison (Dem., Miss.).

In the House, hearings on the Fairfield bill to give the Filipinos absolute independence after thirty

years are ended by the Committee on Insular Affairs.

May 7.—The House adopts a resolution relieving China of further payments of Boxer indemnity, by vote of 211 to 114.

In the House, the Jones (Dem., N. Mex.) corporation tax is passed, 43 to 32, providing for 9 per cent. tax on all corporation incomes with additional taxes on undistributed profits running up to 40 per cent.

May 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) presents a resolution outlining a plan for a World Court divorced from the League.

In the Senate, Mr. Walsh's gift tax rates are adopted, providing from 1 per cent. on \$25,000 to 36 per cent. on gifts of more than \$5,000,000, with exemptions of \$50,000 to members of donors' families.

May 9.—The House, voting 191 to 171, rejects the President's proposal to postpone until March 1, 1925, the effective date of the exclusion clause in the Immigration bill.

May 10.—The Senate passes the Revenue bill with the Simmons (Dem., N. C.) income surtax rates, the Jones (Dem., N. Mex.) graduated tax on corporations, the Norris (Rep., Neb.) amendment requiring full publicity of returns, and the 25 per cent. rebate on 1923 income taxes; the vote on final passage is 69 to 15, the minority being solely Republican.

May 12.—The House Committee on Elections decides to confirm the seats of Royal H. Weller (Dem., N. Y.) and James R. Buckley (Dem., Ill.).

In the House, the Fairfield bill is introduced to establish a commonwealth government in the Philippines for twenty years followed automatically by complete independence.

May 13.—The Senate fails by one vote to pass the Bursum Pension bill over President Coolidge's veto; 32 Republicans, 19 Democrats, and 2 Farmer-Labor members oppose the veto, while 12 Republicans and 16 Democrats vote to sustain it.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 15.—Secretary Hughes, as temporary chairman of the New York State Republican convention, strikes the keynote of the national campaign; he says "the best assurance of the future is in the character of Calvin Coolidge"; the delegates to Cleveland are uninstructed, but the platform endorses the Administration's record while advocating orderly prosecution of corruption.

The New York State Democratic convention decides to support Governor Alfred E. Smith for President.

April 16.—The Missouri State Democratic convention adopts the unit rule with an uninstructed delegation; William T. Kemper of Kansas City is elected national committeeman.

April 17.—Secretary of the Navy Wilbur assigns Lt. Com. Nathaniel H. Wright to act as special assistant in charge of all matters pertaining to oil reserves.

April 18-19.—At the California boundary near Yuma, Ariz., 800 automobile tourists are held under quarantine by Arizona authorities to prevent spread of the hoof-and-mouth disease now affecting California cattle; after fumigation the tourists are permitted to enter Arizona.

April 19.—Republican primaries in Delaware

result in victory for the supporters of Senator T. Coleman du Pont.

April 22.—The Pennsylvania primary results in defeat of Governor Gifford Pinchot as a Republican delegate-at-large.

In New Jersey primaries, supporters of Calvin Coolidge defeat those of Hiram Johnson by sweeping majorities in the Republican contest, while the Democrats prefer delegates pledged to Governor Silzer, unopposed.

President Coolidge addresses a meeting of the Associated Press, in New York; he sees hope in the Dawes report, favors a German loan, and advocates a world conference on disarmament and codification of international law following a definite settlement of German reparations; he regards America's rejection of the League Covenant as final.

April 23.—The Georgia Democratic convention elects eight delegates-at-large and instructs them for William G. McAdoo.

The Oklahoma Republican convention instructs the State's twenty-five delegates to support Coolidge.

April 26.—Theodore E. Burton (Rep., Ohio) is selected as temporary chairman, or keynote orator, of the Republican national convention at Cleveland in June.

April 29.—Warren T. McCray resigns as Governor of Indiana, after being convicted of using the mails to defraud; he is succeeded by Lt.-Gov. Emmett F. Branch, and is sentenced to ten years' imprisonment at Atlanta, Ga., and fined \$10,000.

Ohio Republicans express presidential preference for Calvin Coolidge over Hiram Johnson, 156,393 to 25,183, Harry M. Daugherty being among the successful delegates-at-large; James M. Cox polls 66,751 against William G. McAdoo's 25,717, as the Democratic choice.

In Massachusetts, seven Coolidge delegates-at-large are unopposed in the Republican primaries; the Democrats elect one delegate pledged to Governor Smith of New York, the others being unpledged.

The Missouri Republican State convention instructs for Calvin Coolidge as President and Gov. A. M. Hyde as Vice-President.

April 30.—Franklin D. Roosevelt is chosen as chairman of Gov. Alfred E. Smith's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

May 1.—It is announced that William M. Butler of Massachusetts will be recommended by President Coolidge to succeed John T. Adams as chairman of the Republican National Committee after the Cleveland convention.

May 2.—President Coolidge vetoes the Bursum Pension bill, which would have increased pensions by about \$58,000,000 a year.

May 3.—In Texas, Republican precinct conventions endorse Coolidge for President and R. B. Creager for Vice-President, while Democrats prefer McAdoo over Underwood.

May 4.—An offer to lease the Muscle Shoals nitrate plant and Dam No. 2 for fifty years, at a minimum guarantee of \$120,000,000, is made by E. F. Price, president of the Union Carbide Company of Virginia.

The Federal Trade Commission reports that, with a 50 per cent. decrease in wheat prices, bread prices decreased only 2 per cent.

May 5.—The new Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Wilbur, announces that he is for "a 100 per cent. navy," as discussion is aroused over reports that thirteen battleships are obsolete as to gun elevation and submarine and airplane protection; that six of them should be fueled with oil instead of coal; and that nineteen light cruisers, thirty-six fleet submarines, and ten flotilla leaders are needed to achieve the ratio adopted at the Washington disarmament conference.

In Maryland primaries, Mr. Coolidge is unopposed for the Republican nomination for President.

Hiram Johnson, presidential aspirant, fails to carry the Republican primaries in his own State of California, running second to Calvin Coolidge; Mr. McAdoo is unopposed on the Democratic ballot.

Calvin Coolidge decisively defeats Hiram Johnson in the Indiana Republican presidential primaries; no one seeks the Democratic preference.

May 9.—William J. Burns resigns as director of the Bureau of Investigation ("Secret Service") of the Department of Justice.

May 10.—Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Acting Secretary of the Navy, admits that the navy is actually on a ratio of 5-4-3, with the British in the lead and Japan third; in other words, American naval strength has fallen below the agreed 5-5-3 ratio.

May 11.—The Nevada Republican convention elects 9 delegates pledged to Coolidge.

May 12.—Congressman John W. Langley (Rep. Ky.) is convicted of conspiracy for illegally transporting and selling liquor; he is sentenced to two years in Atlanta Penitentiary.

The Wyoming Republican convention instructs its delegates to vote for Coolidge.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 21.—Gen. Marcial Cavazos, a Mexican rebel, is killed by Federal troops, who capture his followers near Pachuca.

April 24.—The Newfoundland legislature votes "no confidence" in Premier William Warren, following the arrest of former Premier Sir Richard Squires for larceny of public funds.

April 25.—The conference over the boundary between the Irish Free State and Ulster fails to agree, and the British Government is again faced with the responsibility of relieving the deadlock.

April 29.—Philip Snowden, Socialist Chancellor of the British Exchequer, presents his first budget; he would reduce tariffs on sugar, tea, coffee, and cocoa, cut off the duty on automobiles, dried fruits, films, and clocks, and abolish the corporation profits tax.

A revolt of a handful of Cuban soldiers in Santa Clara province results in sweeping measures to preserve order.

May 2.—The British Labor party votes against the Liberal bill in the House of Commons, which would have established proportional representation; the poll is 238 to 144.

May 3.—In Argentina, a general strike is begun against a new pension law which deducts 5 per cent. from salaries of workers, with employers contributing a similar amount.

May 4.—The German elections for the Reichstag are notable for the increased strength of Nationalists

and Communists, but the present coalition government—Centrist, German People's and Democratic parties—seems likely to continue control of a majority; the result is considered favorable to an acceptance of the Dawes reparations plan; 27,000,000 votes are cast, constituting 85 per cent. of the registered voters.

May 5.—The three rebel factions in Honduras sign a treaty of peace with representatives of the Central American nations, in presence of Sumner Welles, American peacemaker, aboard the U. S. cruiser *Milwaukee*; Provisional President Vicente Tosta agrees to hold free presidential and congressional elections.

May 10.—In Japan, a stormy election results in defeat of the Kiyoura ministry; the 464 seats in the new House of Representatives are distributed as follows: Kenseikai 142, Seiyukai 89, Kahushin Club 23, Seiyuhonto 102, Business Men 9, Independents 54.

May 11.—At Halle, Germany, Monarchists parade while Communists attempt to hold demonstrations; 11 are killed, 30 persons are hurt, and 450 are arrested, mostly Communists.

The French elections fail to sustain Premier Poincaré or the National Bloc; the Republican Entente (three parties) will have 137 seats, Radical Socialists 127, Unified Socialists 101, Left Republicans 29, National Radicals 34, Independent Socialists 39, Communists 29, with 14 seats missing.

May 12.—The House of Commons agrees to abolish on August 1 the McKenna duties on imported automobiles, films, clocks, and watches.

May 13.—Premier Poincaré announces that he will resign when the parliament reassembles on June 1.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—The Ruhr industrialists and the Allied Control Commission renew their agreement for two months pending acceptance of the Dawes plan for reparations.

Premier MacDonald announces that Great Britain will accept the Dawes plan as an indivisible whole.

April 16.—Germany accepts the experts' plan for reparations.

April 18.—The Japanese cabinet decides not to recall Ambassador Hanihara.

April 19.—Ambassador Hanihara disclaims any intention of discourtesy in his note of protest against the exclusion clause in immigration legislation pending at Washington; Secretary Hughes says in reply that he was quite sure there had been no thought to "express or imply any threat."

April 23.—The Italian Government recognizes the Republic of Greece, which had previously been recognized by France and Belgium.

April 24.—It is announced from Athens that Great Britain and Turkey have recognized the Greek Republic.

The United States extends for a month the Taft agreement with Panama, to permit completion of negotiations for a new treaty.

April 26.—Formal ratifications of the American-Japanese arbitration treaty are exchanged at Washington.

May 2.—Cuban rebels are enjoined from buying arms and ammunition from the United States by an embargo proclamation of President Coolidge.

May 3.—The American State Department approves an application by Cuban Government authorities for the purchase of munitions.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 17.—Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, founder of Constantinople Woman's College, resigns as president after thirty-four years of service in the Near East.

April 23.—The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, England, is opened by King George; it covers 200 acres of ground and cost \$100,000,000.

April 28.—At Benwood, W. Va., a gas explosion in a coal mine traps and kills 111 men.

April 30.—Tornadoes kill 63 persons and injure 400 in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

May 1.—Three of the four American Army airplanes attempting a round-the-world flight reach Dutch Harbor, Alaska; but Maj. Frederick L. Martin and his plane are missing after a gale.

May 3.—At St. Paul, Minn., the Capital Trust and Savings Bank is closed by the State Superintendent of Banks because of "frozen" assets; it has deposits of \$5,000,000.

May 4.—The address of the Board of Bishops at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield, Mass., advocates lifting the ban on dancing, card-playing, and theaters, and unification of the North and South Methodist Churches; divorce is denounced.

May 5.—The French aviator, Lieut. Pelletier d'Oisy, now at Calcutta, completes 6,312 miles of his attempted flight around the world, headed eastward from Paris.

May 7.—The Methodist Episcopal General Conference votes 842 to 13 to unite the northern and southern branches of the Church.

May 11.—Maj. Frederick L. Martin and Staff Sergt. Alva L. Harvey reach Port Moller, Alaska, on foot, exhausted from exposure and exertion, their plane wrecked, but their lives saved by their courage and concentrated food rations; they will return to Washington and join the flight in Europe for the final lap.

Virginia, Maryland, and New York suffer from floods caused by three days of continuous rain.

OBITUARY

April 14.—Charles L. Thompson, D.D., of New York, chairman of the Home Missions Council of the Protestant Churches, 84.

April 15.—Louis Henri Sullivan, noted Chicago architect, 67. . . . Thomas Watkin Morris, journalist, 55. . . . Constantine Joseph Smyth, chief justice of Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, 65.

April 16.—Arthur Warren, journalist, for many years connected with Boston and New York newspapers, 64.

April 17.—Montague Flagg, a successful New York architect, 40. . . . Brig. Gen. Samuel Lippincott Woodward, U. S. A., retired, 83. . . . Brig. Gen. Horatio Gates Gibson, last surviving officer of the Mexican War, 96.

April 19.—Frank X. Leyendecker, illustrator and artist, 45. . . . James Henry Webb, judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 69.

April 20.—Samuel Gamble Bayne, New York financier, oil pioneer, and author, 79.

April 21.—Eleonora Duse, famous Italian tragedienne, 64. . . . Marie Corelli, widely read English novelist, 60.

April 22.—Lindon Wallace Bates, internationally famous as a waterway engineer, 66. . . . Charles Grant Garrison, justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, 74.

April 23.—Churchill Hunter Cutting, of New York, president emeritus of the American Bible Society, 81. . . . George Fort Milton, prominent Tennessee newspaper editor and publisher, 55.

April 24.—George H. Kendall, president of the American Bank Note Company, 70. . . . Granville Stanley Hall, noted psychologist and president emeritus of Clark University (Massachusetts), 78. . . . Dr. Karl Helfferich, German Secretary of the Treasury during the war, 54.

April 25.—Charles Francis Murphy, leader of Tammany Hall, 65.

April 26.—Niels L. G. Gron, Danish author, politician, and peace advocate.

April 27.—John C. Roberts, publisher of the St. Louis *Star*, 70.

April 28.—Robert Patterson Perkins, manufacturer and Red Cross commissioner in Italy during the war, 62. . . . Baron Hikokichi Ijuin, 64. . . . Michael F. Burns, the New York coal merchant, 70.

April 30.—Gen. Julian Shakespeare Carr, noted Confederate veteran and banker, 79. . . . John L. Stettinius, Cincinnati lawyer. . . . The Rev. Dr. Charles Morton Sills, Episcopalian, of Maine, 74. . . . Rev. Ellen Grant Gustin, one of the first women preachers.

May 1.—Henry Malison Byllesby, noted Chicago electrical engineer, 65. . . . Brig. Gen. Isaac W. Littell, U. S. A., retired, 67. . . . Frank Plumley, Vermont lawyer and politician, 79. . . . Sir Louis Davies, Canadian Chief Justice, 79.

May 3.—Marion Lawrence, secretary of the International Sunday School Association for twenty-three years, 73. . . . Dr. Nicolas Alberdi, Cuban politician, 59.

May 5.—Frederick William Mulkey, former United States Senator from Oregon, 50. . . . Mrs. Charles A. Stevenson (Kate Claxton), actress. . . . Mrs. Hubert Bland (L. Nesbit), English poet and novelist. . . . Sir Horace Nugent, former British Consul General in Chicago.

May 6.—Charles Clinton Burke, Pennsylvania oil pioneer, 82.

May 7.—William J. Baldwin, noted construction engineer, 80.

May 9.—Edwin Atkins Grozier, editor and publisher of the Boston *Post* since 1891, 64. . . .

May 12.—Edward F. Terry, bridge builder, 67. . . . Henry Haven Windsor, publisher of *Popular Mechanics*, 65. . . . The Rt. Rev. Louis Sebastian Walsh, Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland, Me., 65.

May 13.—George Hubbard Pepper, archaeologist, 51. . . . Louis A. Hirsch, composer of comic operettas, 42.

POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD—IN CARTOONS



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE ON GUARD WITH HIS VETO GUN

From the *Evening Post* (New York)



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minn.)



A PATCH-WORK JOB

From the *Publishers Autocaster Service* (New York)



MA COOLIDGE CERTAINLY WARNED HIM!

From the *Press* (Cleveland, Ohio)



IT'S WONDERFUL HOW NOTHING SEEMS TO DISTURB THEM

From *Forbes* (New York)

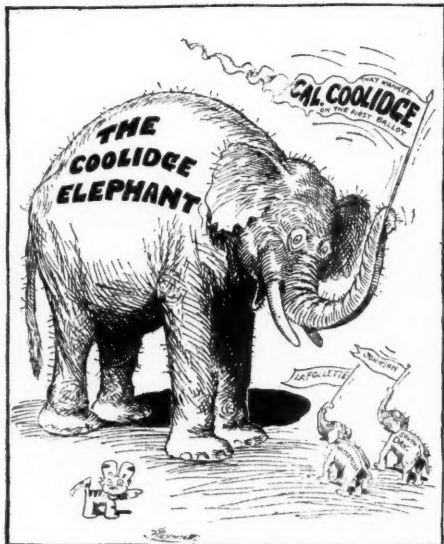
THE national nominating conventions of the two major parties assemble in this month of June. The Republicans will meet in Cleveland on the 10th, and the



NOW WHO DO YOU SUPPOSE IS GOING TO BE "IT"?

From the *News* (Omaha, Neb.)

nomination of Calvin Coolidge is assured. The Democrats will meet in New York on the 24th, with a contest wide open. Meanwhile Congress has been attempting to wind up its legislative program in order to adjourn before the conventions and over the entire election campaign. Tax reduction, bonus, and immigration are the three



ON THE WAY TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



WHO CAN RIDE THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY?

From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

[The Cartoonist pictures McAdoo, Cox, Underwood, Smith, and Ralston as willing applicants]



AW, COME ON—DON'T BE SO TOUCHY!

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



IS HE COMING OR GOING—THIS JAPANESE QUESTION?

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minn.)

matters which have most occupied the attention of Congress during recent weeks, and in each of them the legislation tended to be in opposition to President Coolidge's known views; and thus his veto was expected. The Immigration bill contained a provision excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship, which brought the Japanese

question forcibly to the front again. We reproduce herewith several cartoons—two of them from the Pacific Coast—referring to Japanese immigration. The second half of this department gathers together representative cartoons from the European press. They relate mostly to parliamentary situations in Great Britain and France.



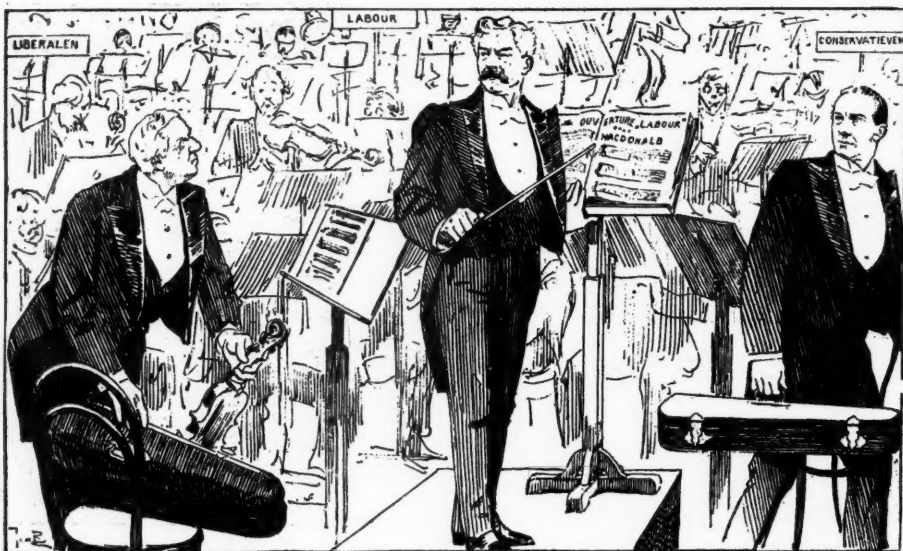
"I DON'T UNDERSTAND IT"

From the *Evening World*, © (New York)



NOT IN A MILLION YEARS!

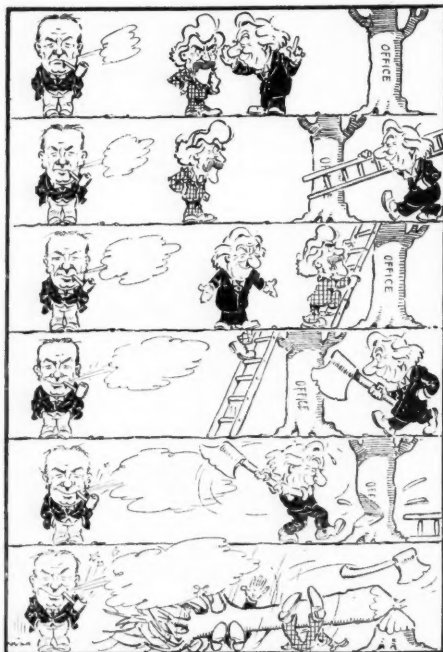
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



DISCORD IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

BALDWIN AND ASQUITH (to Premier MacDonald): "If you are going to play your own compositions, you will have to do without us."

[The cartoon has special reference to the failure of the MacDonald ministry's Housing bill. It will be remembered that a combination of Liberals under Asquith and Conservatives under Baldwin—both of them former Premiers—can overthrow the Labor government in the House of Commons at any moment. Meanwhile, however, the Liberals are supporting Labor.]



A PICTURE OF MR. BALDWIN WORRYING

From the *Bystander* (London, England)

[Asquith, Liberal leader, is shown as helping MacDonald to the premiership—last January—and since then seeking to overthrow him. The cartoonist anticipates that the final blow will carry Asquith down also and leave Baldwin unharmed.]

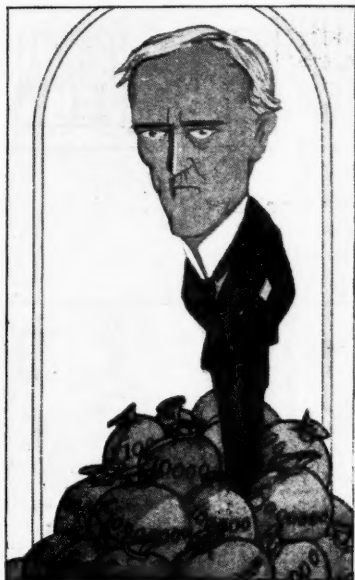


THE OPTIMISTIC BRITISH PREMIER

"Well, I'm all right—SO FAR!"

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

[In the European system of government the Premier invariably resigns, with the entire cabinet, when any measure which his ministry proposes fails to pass in the parliament. But Premier MacDonald has announced that the Labor government will not resign because of minor defeats.]



WHAT WOULD KARL MARX DO?

(Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P., Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer)

From the *Weekly Westminster* (London, England)

[In the British scheme of government, the Chancellor of the Exchequer plays a part which combines somewhat the duties of our Secretary of the Treasury and our Director of the Budget. Snowden, the Socialist, introduced his first budget in Parliament on April 29, involving nearly four billion dollars. His address was a personal triumph.]



THE LIBERAL CONSPIRATORS, ASQUITH AND LLOYD GEORGE—"WE WILL MAKE HIM NOTICE US!"

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



CHARITY IS LONG SUFFERING

IVAN, OF RUSSIA: "I say, John Bull, you might give me a lift."

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)



MACDONALD: "LET ME HELP YOU ACROSS, LITTLE BROTHER"

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

[The two cartoons relating to Russia, on this page, are apropos of the visit to England of a Russian trade commission seeking to put into effect Britain's recognition of the Soviet Government.]



WILL THE ROPE HOLD?

(The new device for egg-collecting)

From the *Evening News* (London, England)



"How is the Frenchman?"
"Gentle, beautiful, and sweet!"



"And the German?"
"Horrible, cruel, and vulgar!"

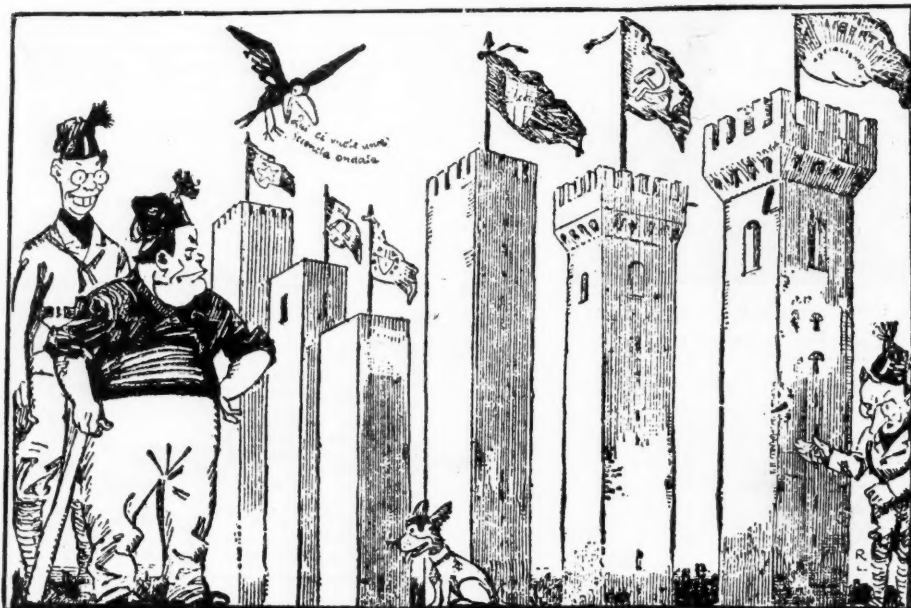


"And the Russian?"
"He does not exist!"

EVERYTHING DEPENDS UPON THE POINT OF VIEW

From *Le Canard Enchaîné* (Paris, France)

[The inquirer is the French Premier, Poincaré]



AFTER THE ELECTION IN ITALY—A PROVOCATIVE PICTURE

MUSSOLINI: "By Jove! They are still standing!"

From *Becco Giallo* (Rome, Italy)

[Before the Italian parliamentary elections, in April, the dictator-premier Mussolini forced certain electoral changes which insured the dominance of his Fascist adherents in the Chamber of Deputies. This is one of the few anti-Mussolini cartoons ever printed]



ITALIAN (entertaining a
Jugoslav friend): "Don't
disturb us, madame!"



BRITON (talking to Rus-
sian): "You must find an-
other man, my dear!"



AMERICAN: "Excuse me—
this German gentleman and
I are talking business!"



MARIANNE (to Premier
Poincaré): "Imbecile! It's
because of that military hat!"

THE FRENCH MARIANNE'S TOUR OF EUROPE

From *Lachen Links* (Berlin, Germany)

THE GERMAN AND FRENCH ELECTIONS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. AFTER TEN YEARS

TEN years ago this current month of June, the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand and his wife in the Bosnian capital, Serajevo, supplied the occasion for the greatest war in human history. Now, at the end of the first decade, what is the condition of Europe? Since, moreover, this same day and month mark the fifth anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles, they have further value as a measuring point.

The past month has been marked by very important developments, three of which, the German and French elections and the reassertion of British influence through the wise and conciliating policy of Ramsay MacDonald, I mean to discuss at some length presently, but for the moment it is perhaps worth while to take a swift glance at the general European situation.

Even the most cursory view discloses the fact, moreover, that Europe is, on the whole, in a better condition and in a more hopeful state of mind than at any moment since the Bosnian crime. Economic recovery has moved unevenly but steadily, so slowly as to encourage pessimism, yet on the whole unmistakably from one end of Europe to the other.

Over the whole face of the Continent there are at the moment only two international disputes which could conceivably lead to new hostilities—that between Poland and Lithuania, which unhappily the Memel adjustment of Mr. Norman Davis, acting for the League of Nations, failed to abolish, and that between Rumania and Russia over Bessarabia, which has recently aroused grave apprehensions.

By contrast Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia have achieved a measure of adjustment truly remarkable when it is considered that the first and last were recalled to existence after long years of servitude to foreign domination, while the

second was expanded both in area and population to such an extent as to be in reality almost a new creation. If at the moment Yugoslavia struggles with a domestic racial combat between the Croats and the Serbs, it has reached an adjustment of its disputes with Italy and is assured a measure of stability.

Central Europe, Balkanized Europe, as the phrase used to go, has founded its foreign policy upon the Little Entente, with extra agreements with France and with Poland, all based upon the policy of common action to defend the boundaries and settlements of the Paris Treaties and all with increasing emphasis directed toward the maintenance of peace. The relations between Austria and the Succession States have undergone a complete change and through the League of Nations Austrian finance has been reorganized, while similar measures are to be undertaken in Hungary.

The Greek war with Turkey has been liquidated and the settlement seems likely now to endure. If Greece has changed from monarchy to Republic and will have to bear for decades to come the burdens and the disappointments incident to the last phase of the Constantine episode, she is, for the moment at least, without danger from any new foreign attack. Her dream of a restored Byzantine Empire has gone glimmering, but Greece in 1924 is double the size and holds twice the population of the Greece of 1914.

Poland on the north has escaped from boundary disputes with Russia and with Germany. Even the minor quarrel with Czechoslovakia over Javorina has been liquidated. There remains only the unfortunate question of Vilna. The European hope that Vilna and Memel could be disposed of at one time and that in taking title to the latter Lithuania would resign her shadowy claim to the former, has proven illusory. Doubtless Mr. Davis did the best he could, in his Memel adjustment, but the

fact remains that something close to a state of war still continues between Poland and Lithuania as a consequence of the will of the latter, and as a result, the high hopes of a real settlement of Polo-Lithuanian differences through the Memel adjustment have disappeared.

Like all the other new and succession states, however, Poland is slowly but surely consolidating her national territory and undertaking the difficult problems incident to restoring national existence. Nothing is more impressive than the will of these new states to survive and the gloomy forecasts of the first days following the Paris settlements are steadily proving less and less warranted. Even the Baltic states, Latvia, Esthonia, and particularly Finland, are inconspicuously but uninterruptedly justifying their Paris liberation.

In Italy we have witnessed a novel double revolution. Following the close of hostilities and partly as a consequence of the disappointments of Paris, Italy drifted over to the left, Rome seemed to be inclining toward Moscow, but with the rise of Fascismo and the arrival of Mussolini the reaction was immediate and complete and now we are watching an experiment in dictatorship, recalling, perhaps vaguely, the Napoleonic drama. In Spain, too, the same experiment is being tried.

In Geneva I was struck by the word of Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, who in discussing the general European situation said with accuracy and emphasis:

Look at Europe at this moment and what do you see? Is it not worthy of notice that the places where order and adjustment have been most complete are precisely those regions which were recently described as Balkanized Europe? We have solved the most difficult of our intricate problems growing out of the extinction of a great empire and vast changes in the boundaries of two others, but the Western nations which criticised us most severely, Britain and France—so far their great problems of adjustment with Germany remain to be liquidated.

What the Russian situation is at the moment it is impossible to say, but it is true that the invasive force of Bolshevism seems definitely broken and Russia is at the present hour something far different from that unmistakable danger which was universally recognized five years ago. That the Soviet system is breaking down or modifying itself in the direction of western ideas is frequently asserted and is perhaps

measurably true, but for the moment Russia remains out of the European picture.

Aside from Russia, however, five years of shaking down have brought an impressive consolidation of the Europe created at Paris. The work of the recent peace congress like that of remoter Vienna tends to become, if not permanent, temporarily solid. Discussion of new and sweeping territorial modifications of the treaties has become academic nonsense. That the new frontiers will endure forever is unlikely, but that they can be modified by any conference or with the consent of the nations concerned is no longer even thinkable.

In five years a new Europe has arisen and it is now functioning, not perfectly, far from that, but at least in such fashion as to give promise and increasing promise of survival. Such disputes as Fiume, Upper Silesia, innumerable Balkan quarrels, have disappeared from the agenda of actual political discussion. Everywhere there is increasing evidence that Europe is settling down to the conditions created for it by the war and the peace settlements of Paris and since Paris.

And, as the political disputes, the international quarrels tend to diminish, trade and commerce are flowing increasingly. It is becoming easy to travel in Europe again. Even the new frontiers can be passed by through trains again—a thing impossible five years ago. Domestic political disputes are once more replacing international, while business is more and more disputing with politics the first attention of nations and individuals.

Ten years ago, at the moment preceding the Serajevo crime, two great groups of armed nations faced each other, united by common fears or common ambitions and in a state of mind which insured hostilities in case any new dispute should arise. Tangier, Bosnia and Agadir had produced war sentiments in many countries and the tension had grown to the point where compromise was hardly conceivable.

Five years ago a broken Europe with war passions as yet in no degree cooled, looked over the ruins of empires and states, of the machinery of production and the fields of agriculture. New states and old were, seen from the surface, tinder for the spread of the fires of Bolshevism and apparently resolved on new hostilities rather than submission to the existing order. If you take the trouble to look backward five years you can see how far we have marched toward

adjustment, despite all the present limitations to complete adjustment.

All things considered, the creation of Versailles and Paris has stood the strain remarkably well. Europe is beginning to be something like a whole again. The rapid succession of crises has come to an end. The threats of new wars menacing that unfortunate Continent have been largely dissipated. At last Europe begins to look as if it were getting ready to settle down for a time, in its own way, to be sure, neither disarming nor accepting American notions of peace, but, nevertheless, getting back to work and working with reasonable profit.

When I was in Europe a few weeks ago many men of many different walks of life commented upon the change in feeling in Europe, on the arrival of a new spirit, which promised well for the immediate future. Such a survey as I have just attempted indicates at least a portion of the basis for this feeling. On the tenth anniversary of the events which precipitated the World War, it is plain that we are beginning to see solid evidence of the arrival of something approximating real peace after five years of conflict and five more years of confusion and inevitable chaos.

II. THE GERMAN ELECTION

Turning now from the general to the specific, by far the most important single incident of the past month was the German election. For many weeks Europe had awaited the result of this test with grave apprehension and the interest was intensified by the fact that the fate of the Dawes Report, so far as voluntary German acceptance was concerned, seemed to be in the balance. This latter situation was due to the fact that the German Cabinet, through Herr Stresemann, the Foreign Minister, had openly proclaimed the Ministry's acceptance of that report as a basis of negotiations.

When I was in Europe in March and early April there was a settled opinion that the result of the German election would be a victory for the extreme reactionaries, of whom General Ludendorff was the type, and that the peace of the world would be gravely compromised by such an outcome. In point of fact the result was neither as unfavorable as was feared nor quite as favorable as the first reports indicated.

Writing more than ten days after the votes had been counted, it still remains a little difficult to make conclusive deductions, not because the figures themselves are obscure, but because the shades of sentiment of members of various groups remain problematical. It is clear, however, that the more moderate elements of Germany, represented by the three parties actually supplying the votes for the existing coalition ministry and by the Socialist party which supplied the necessary passive support, were decisively beaten but not quite routed, as had been feared, while the seats lost by these four parties were not quite equally divided between two reactionary and one revolutionary party.

The analysis of the returns shows that in the last Reichstag the four Moderate parties were thus represented: Socialists, 173; Center, 68; People's Party, 66; Democratic Party, 39; and Bavarian People's Party, 20—that is, 366 in all. In the new Reichstag the latest figures show: Socialists, 100; Center, 62; People's, 44; Democratic, 25; and Bavarian People's Party, 16—that is, 247 in all, showing a total loss for the moderate elements of 119, or almost exactly a third.

By contrast the Nationalist Party, which had 67 seats in the old Reichstag, counts 96 in the new; the Volkische or Extreme Nationalist Party, which numbered only 3 members, will have 32. Thus the two reactionary groups have expanded from 70 to 128—a gain of 58. The Communist Party on its side increased its membership from 15 to 62—a gain of 47. The gain of the two groups of extremists thus represented 105 seats, as against a total loss for the moderates of 119, the balance being mainly absorbed by small groups, which increased their membership from 11 to 28 seats.

On the face of the returns, however, it would seem that a coalition of the Socialists with the three parties now composing the German Cabinet, namely, the People's, Democratic and Center, would still count a clear majority, namely, 247 seats in a Reichstag of 465 members, and that they might count on a measure of support from certain representatives of the minor parties, and this was the interpretation which was at first placed upon the result of the election by the outside world.

But as the figures came to be more closely scanned it was noted that the gap between

the Socialists with a round hundred seats and the Nationalists with 96 was slight in the extreme and destined to disappear if the latter were able, as they promptly asserted they would be, to rally to their alignment a few members of other groups. Thus the great question was and remains, as I write, whether the Socialists or the Nationalists would be invited to form a government and which of the two larger parties would thus obtain the dominant position in a new government. Of course it remained possible that the old coalition with the continuing tacit support of the Socialists might carry on with the same cabinet which had accepted the Dawes Report.

Perhaps the most significant development of the post-election discussion in Germany, however, was the disclosure of the fact that the German Nationalists were already putting water in their wine and were inclined to avoid any open repudiation of the Dawes Report and rather seek, after accepting it as a basis for negotiation, to maneuver to obtain better terms from the Allied nations. Even if they remained in the opposition, the reactionary parties would be able to serve this end because they could always prevent a two-thirds' majority which would be necessary to put through certain legislation necessary to apply the Dawes recommendations.

In sum, then, it would appear that what actually happened in the German election was that the parties opposing the Dawes Report, both the reactionaries and the revolutionaries, were enormously strengthened without actually obtaining a clear majority and that the apparent acceptance of the Dawes Report was wholly conditional and might easily turn out to be without significance as the negotiations which were to take place progressed.

With only 128 seats in a house of 465, the extreme reactionaries could not hope at once to overturn the republic—much less could the Communists with but 62 votes. Moreover, since one group desired a return to Potsdam's monarchical traditions and the other an adoption of Moscow's Soviet ideas, there was little chance of fusion in any positive program, although both groups could conceivably work against the Dawes Report, which both opposed for opposite reasons, each founded on class interests.

One is bound to conclude, then, that the German election leaves the whole reparations problem still in the air. One may, I

think, quite safely forecast that the Nationalist elements will insist on certain pretty definite concessions, the first of which will be the total evacuation of the Ruhr by the French and Belgian troops—something not provided for by the Dawes Report itself. Modifications in the terms of control of certain German banks and public utilities will probably be demanded also.

As I see it, the German election constitutes a clear warning that there are difficult negotiations ahead before the Dawes Report is actually accepted by Germany. It is an obvious advantage that the parties which sought its complete rejection have failed to obtain a majority. It is an equally significant detail that the Nationalist Party is already toning down its program of unconditional rejection. But it is not less apparent that the paper majority for the report, as shown by the revised election returns, is unsubstantial and might easily be abolished by changes on the part of relatively few members.

Germany has quite clearly rejected the advice and the leadership of those who sought open defiance and absolute rejection. But the German mood is not less unmistakably a long way from unresisting compliance. If the German moderates have so far preserved a slight but real hold upon the situation, there is no mistaking the fact that under the surface German sentiment is running strongly and that at both the red and white extremes there have been impressive gains made.

To rejoice that Germany did not go Nationalist or Communist, as was feared very generally in Europe a few weeks ago, is natural, but to assume that the present German temper makes the road to settlement easy is to err on the side of extreme optimism. The single real hope of settlement now rests upon the fair chance that the mass of Germans are tired of economic and political chaos and international trouble and are willing to accept terms which, if still severe, are within the limits of possibility and on the whole preferable to that return of anarchy and misery which accompanied the Ruhr War and its ultimate collapse.

The fear that Germany would in a brief time throw herself upon her conquerors and precipitate another European conflict, that she would reject the Dawes Report and elect for a war of revenge upon France, seems to have been unfounded. Even the Nationalists, who talked so ferociously

before election, have manifestly perceived the truth that such a war would mean suicide for Germany, given her present military condition.

While I did not personally visit Germany on my recent European trip, I met many people who had come from Germany and there was general agreement that there had been a marked change in German spirit, a change which is fairly mirrored in the election returns. Germany is recovering from her sense of weakness, which followed her defeat in the war and her collapse after the Ruhr affair. The rapid recovery after the Ruhr, following the temporary stabilization of her currency, has had a marked effect upon the feeling of the whole people, and there is no mistaking the return of a measure of confidence and determination.

Any attempt to force unconditional acceptance of the Dawes Report upon the present German Parliament, that is, upon the newly elected Reichstag, will, in my judgment, fail. No German statesman would dare to recommend acceptance on this basis, nor upon any basis which did not include the immediate or relatively prompt evacuation of the Ruhr. But such an evacuation would only be conceivable as a result of Anglo-French agreements covering possible later German defaults, that is, voluntary defaults.

Given the results of the German election, it may well be doubted if any adjustment, even on the basis of the Dawes Report, would be longer conceivable were France and Germany the sole nations concerned, since for France, quite naturally, the German results have inspired grave apprehensions. Actually, the future chance of adjustment must rest upon the manner in which the British Labor Prime Minister deals with what is at once a unique opportunity and a confessedly difficult task. Moreover, any break between France and Britain now would be, beyond any cavil, instantly and utterly fatal.

III. MACDONALD CONTINUES

Writing from London many weeks ago, I indicated to my readers that the most striking single detail in the foreign policy of the new British Prime Minister was the fashion in which he had deliberately set out to abolish the friction between London and Paris and restore an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence in which two nations,

with frankly conflicting interests and opinions, might yet discuss these differences amicably and arrive at mutually satisfactory conclusions.

Pending the arrival of the Dawes Report, this was the single useful operation which seemed at hand for MacDonald and he has performed it with a skill and success which was equally commented upon on both sides of the Channel. In that period he did not aim at the solution of any question, on the contrary he quite frankly conceded the uselessness of any such endeavor while doubt and suspicion continued. But by the time the Dawes Report was published Franco-British relations were on a more friendly basis than at any time since the open quarrel between Poincaré and Lloyd George.

With the publication of the Dawes Report it seemed for a moment that this good feeling was to end. Poincaré demanded at once that before France consented to surrender the economic control which, with Belgium, she was exercising in the Ruhr, she should have some assurance of the steps which were to be taken should Germany again default. This was no more nor less than a demand that, in case of new voluntary evasion, Britain would join France in punitive operations.

Poincaré's reasoning was obvious. Germany had wilfully evaded. Her evasion had led after long delays to Franco-Belgian seizure of Ruhr industries. This seizure had provoked the Ruhr War and had been accompanied by British disapproval and protest. Nevertheless France and Belgium had won the Ruhr War and, what was more important, they were now actually operating Ruhr industries at a considerable and growing profit. They were, then, in no mood to give up something for nothing.

This Poincaré proposal was not pleasing to MacDonald, who had never approved of the Ruhr occupation, who hoped to bring about its termination, and who, beyond this, regarded it as unwise to make any commitments in advance which assumed possible German bad faith. In a word, MacDonald wanted to make the Dawes experiment without any advance agreement covering possible German bad faith. He wanted to assume good faith, while Poincaré, on his part, was bound to assume German bad faith.

For a moment there seemed to be danger of a deadlock, which was accentuated by a speech of the British Prime Minister at York. But the uncomfortable consequences

of this speech were largely dissipated by two separate acts on the part of MacDonald. First, he sent assurances to Paris that while Britain did not want to take any steps in advance which might even seem to assume German bad faith, she would be prepared to act energetically in case of a new German default. Then, speaking to his Welsh constituents, he squarely repudiated the idea that he sought or even desired French isolation.

One has to recall that both in Great Britain and in America there has been endless talk about isolating France and thereafter coercing her by the combined public opinion of the world. Lloyd George attempted this at Genoa. There was even some talk about it at the Washington Conference. But whatever the effect of the isolation of France at Washington, which was fairly complete, the Georgian attempt at Genoa ended in a frightful fiasco and left France with the support of most of the Central European nations.

Liberal and radical writers and speakers in Britain and in America have imagined over and over again that it was possible to isolate France and that, were it done, it would be a step toward compelling the French to bend to British and American opinion with respect to French vital interests. But the whole Ruhr episode showed how unfounded this view was and nothing is clearer at the moment in Europe than the fact that any break between Britain and France now would abolish all hope of any settlement under the Dawes Plan or any other.

Actually Mr. MacDonald found himself in something of the position of Mr. Wilson, when the President attempted to persuade the French to resign their claim for the Rhine as a military frontier. The French were willing to resign their claim, but only provided they received a guarantee from Britain and America which, in their minds, gave them equal security. In the present situation the French are willing to abandon the economic exploitation of the Ruhr, provided they have British assurance that if Germany repeated her old evasion, then Anglo-French action would be automatic. France does not mean, having carried through the Ruhr affair once, to have to meet the same obstacles if the same necessity arises again.

Had MacDonald declined to take public note of the French position, the chances of a

settlement under the Dawes Plan would have gone glimmering at the outset and, if, as is totally unlikely, he should take such a stand in the future, the result would be the same, I believe. It is not beyond the limits of possibility that by careful negotiation MacDonald may persuade the French to give up the economic exploitation and even to abandon military occupation of the Ruhr, the former required under the Dawes Report, the latter not, but these two things will not arrive save on conditions which safeguard French interests and involve British commitment.

On the other hand, it is just as clear that MacDonald must guard against any steps calculated to fire German national sentiment and insure German intransigence. He has to reckon with two very difficult national states of mind. He has, in practice, to get the French to agree to terms with the Germans which shall lead to the transfer from Franco-Belgian to German hands of the Ruhr industries. He has, also, to find some formula for the military occupation of the Ruhr which both the French and Germans will accept. And if either nation takes umbrage the consequences may be dire.

The future success of the whole operation turns, it would seem, first upon MacDonald's capacity to preserve Anglo-French unity in such measure as to discourage any German policy based upon the idea of exploiting Anglo-French differences of opinion, for if Germany sees her old enemies divided as they have been in the past two years she will do nothing, certain that she can escape all payments.

In the second place, MacDonald has to reckon at all times with the two fundamental elements in French policy, security and reparations. France can never be persuaded to accept any agreement which to the French mind compromises either of these interests. Security does not enter immediately into the present discussion, but it is never very far in the background. France is ready, readier than at any moment since the close of the war, to agree to a real settlement, such as the Dawes Committee has proposed, but always on the condition that her interests are protected.

In the third place, MacDonald has always to reckon with German emotion. Germany is prepared, one must conclude, to make certain concessions, she desires a settlement on conditions which are not too onerous, but there are limits beyond which Germany will

not go even to escape ruin, which would almost inevitably follow the rejection of the Dawes Report. Germany cannot now or hereafter be treated merely as a criminal nation or simply as a prisoner at the bar, come for a revised sentence, even though this is conceivably the fact.

Before there can be any general settlement, moreover, it is quite obvious there must be, first, a general agreement among the Allies, of which France, Belgium and Italy are, with Great Britain, the important nations, and, secondly, between France and Great Britain, who must in practice assume responsibility both for the negotiations with Germany and their later translation into German performance.

You must see, then, in advance, how difficult is the task which lies before the British Prime Minister and how many obstacles have yet to be overcome before a real European settlement can be reached. The Dawes Report, as yet, has not got beyond the preliminary stage. It has become by general agreement a basis of discussion, but there must be discussions not alone between the Allies and Germany but among the Allies themselves, and particularly between France and Great Britain. It is not going to be possible for the British to force the French to accept their view. Much less will it be possible for France to impose its view upon Britain. The real question remains whether the degree of common interests exceeds that of conflicting ends.

Hope of adjustment now rests mainly upon the fact that MacDonald is, on the whole, the statesman best calculated to inspire confidence and avoid arousing suspicion who has yet struggled with the reparations problem. He is aided by the need and the desire for adjustment which exists in every nation in Europe, by the deflation of extreme views in most countries, and by the unmistakable ruin which confronts most of Europe if the present negotiations come to nothing.

Since he came to the Foreign Office, moreover, MacDonald has made no major mistake. He knows his Europe by personal acquaintance better than any of his predecessors in recent years. He has a far freer hand, for his foreign policy is not a stake in his domestic fortunes. He has a support in the House of Commons and in the country which neither Lloyd George nor Stanley Baldwin enjoyed. His prestige

at home and abroad has steadily increased since he took office.

In recent weeks he has avoided precisely the mistakes some of his supporters have most earnestly urged upon him, above all the mistake of seeking to isolate France. If a European settlement is finally reached on the basis of the Dawes Report, it will be chiefly because Ramsay MacDonald has been able to continue as he has patently begun. To-day his rôle in Europe is vastly greater and infinitely more honorable than any that Bismarck ever played; and up to the present moment he has continued to inspire confidence, which in the end must be his chief asset. Europe to-day does not need an "honest broker," but it does clamor for a straightforward leader—and MacDonald may prove the man.

IV. POINCARÉ'S DEFEAT

As I close this article the Paris dispatches record the decisive defeat of the French premier, M. Raymond Poincaré, and the unmistakable disaster to the so-called Nationalist Bloc. If Germany a week before went measurably to the right—that is, in the direction of reaction—France, for her part, has gone far more definitely to the left. Not even the effect of the German election has availed to interrupt the expected swing to a more radical and moderate leadership. And it goes without saying that France, Europe, and the world, which had assumed the certainty of a Poincaré victory, have been taken by surprise by the extent of the swing.

What is the meaning of this surprising overturn in France? There are, I believe, two things which must be considered: first the effect and then the reason. Of the effect, one may say quite simply that the victory of radicalism in France—the defeat of Poincaré and of Millerand, President of the Republic, who shared the Poincaré views and was, perhaps, even more distinctly Nationalistic—is on the whole a gain for world adjustment. It is, besides, at least a fair conclusion that a reparations settlement will be easier to reach now than if Poincaré had triumphed.

The reason is twofold. While Ramsay MacDonald has managed to keep on friendly relations with Poincaré, there is no mistaking the fact that both for the British Prime Minister and for Britain generally Poincaré has been as difficult a problem

as Lloyd George was for France toward the end of the Welshman's reign. Assuming that Herriot, Painlevé, or even Briand will succeed Poincaré, it is going to be much simpler for MacDonald to deal with any of them, to make concessions to any one of them, than it would have been to deal with and yield to Poincaré.

Since a radical government in France is going to negotiate with a Labor government in Britain, there will be a degree of sympathy, not decisive but important. Poincaré, wrongly I believe, represented in the British mind a policy of extermination so far as Germany is concerned. His defeat will be accepted, too completely perhaps, as the repudiation by France of this assumed Poincaré policy. In point of fact, what will be removed is the general but unfounded prejudice which made negotiation difficult.

The new Prime Minister of France, perhaps Herriot, Mayor of Lyons, minister in war cabinets of the past, has committed himself to the actual occupation of the Ruhr. So has Briand, so perhaps has Painlevé, although as to this I am uninformed. But no one of these three has declared against evacuation in advance of complete payment, as did Poincaré. Thus, provided Britain will give a reasonable assurance in case of German default in the future, the evacuation may take place.

If the evacuation were not provided for in the general arrangement by which the Dawes Plan is accepted, I do not believe Germany would ever accept the report. It may be questioned whether Britain would ever have consented to give Poincaré any assurance, because British opinion mistrusted Poincaré. But now it seems possible to combine a French Government which will agree to evacuate the Ruhr with a British Government which will meet the fundamental conditions for evacuation.

You may view the fall of Poincaré as the elimination of a man who actively sought to prevent peace and aimed not at adjustment but at the destruction of Germany. In that case you will see the Ruhr occupation as a step in that direction and the present defeat of Poincaré as the defeat of a policy which menaced European adjustment. This is a possible and perhaps a popular estimate; but I think it inexact and unfair to Poincaré.

By contrast you may see the Ruhr operation as a necessary step to bring about

a settlement, a step made necessary by the determination of Germany to evade all proper reparations payment. As such, then, you will agree with General Dawes, who said publicly that save for the Ruhr occupation his work could not have been done. But in either case it is plain that the moment has arrived when the Ruhr occupation has become more a detail in a general settlement than a permanent affair. France must retire from the Ruhr if there is to be a European adjustment. But her occupation of the Ruhr may fairly be held to be responsible for the fact that adjustment is now possible.

Evidently the mass of the French voters believed that Poincaré was not the man best qualified to deal with Ramsay MacDonald and for that matter with Germany in the present crisis. It did not repudiate what had been done, since all the conspicuous leaders of all groups had acquiesced and approved; but it did indicate its belief that someone else could more successfully liquidate the affair and, if you please, harvest the crop which had resulted from Poincaré's sowing.

The victory of the opposition in France makes common action by the British and French far easier than it ever could have been with Poincaré. Poincaré eliminated Lloyd George, and so far as France was concerned there was no chance of useful coöperation between the two nations until this took place. But with Poincaré gone, with the Ruhr occupation achieved, the chance of adjustment while Poincaré remained was slight.

I have written in this magazine before that my outstanding impression on my recent visit to France was the pacific mood of the French people—the absence of militarism, aggressive nationalism, or excessive demands. The election returns are a far more startling proof of the accuracy of this estimate than could have been expected two months ago. The conception of France as an obstacle to European adjustment must now disappear.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to expect too much in the way of French concession just because Poincaré has fallen. The French position, the French claims, have an irreducible minimum. Herriot or Briand is sure to express them and insist upon them and to disappear if he fails to protect them. Security and reparations are still the prerequisites in the foreign

policy of any new French Cabinet. The chief difference will lie, not in the claims presented on behalf of France so much as on the manner in which they are presented.

It is an interesting fact that the two western democracies of Europe, first Britain and then France, have passed from the war period not by means of revolution or reaction, neither by an appeal to a Lenin or to a Mussolini, but by first a marked turn to the conservatives and then by quite as marked a turn to the liberals. The House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies, elected while war emotions were in full swing, have both been succeeded by legislative bodies in which war emotions are on the whole relegated to minor importance.

Moreover, after a marked break between Britain and France, the prospect of new coöperation is enormously advanced by the fact that people of something of the same general sort have gained control in both countries. No one can even venture to forecast what the effect of Poincaré's fall will be upon Germany. It may strengthen the hands of those who would have the Dawes Committee report accepted. It may, on the other hand, encourage those who would resist acceptance, believing that France had changed her policy and would consent to sacrifice her rights.

Unmistakably if the German decision is to accept the Dawes Report—seeking only certain modifications, notably evacuation of the Ruhr—then we are within sight of an adjustment. On the other hand, if the Germans interpret the fall of Poincaré as proof of French collapse and as an invitation to intransigence, then we are equally sure to see a closer association of France and Great Britain. In the latter case, such coöperation must pretty promptly bring home to the Germans the error of their own interpretation.

In sum, I believe the fall of Poincaré is a gain for world adjustment. It removes a man whose reputation, perhaps more than his own purpose, made him an obstacle to settlement. It simplifies the task of MacDonald. It brings France and Britain more closely into line. And it leaves Germany with a less plausible excuse for alleging French purpose to ruin German unity. Whatever the fact may be, the world generally will see in the French verdict evidence that France is less militaristic

than had been charged; and the French reputation internationally will benefit.

That France has repudiated the policy of Poincaré seems an excessive declaration. Probably domestic policies figured as much as if not more than foreign policies in determining the result. In France it would doubtless be said that Poincaré fell despite his foreign policy because of his domestic failures, but this point is hardly of great importance to-day. His fall is unmistakable and his disappearance, whether temporary or final, will have incalculable international consequences.

All the great figures of the war are now eliminated. As President of the Republic Poincaré played a part, although this has been exaggerated by those who would make the Lorrainer something between a Machiavelli and a Napoleon. Not impossibly he will be remembered by Frenchmen as the man who saved for France the fruits of victory, just as Clemenceau will be remembered as the man who saved the victory itself. That France has to-day felt the need of a new man to liquidate the existing situation, as she felt the need of Clemenceau in 1917 and of Poincaré in 1922, seems unmistakable. What is to be seen is whether she can find a third man as considerable as her other two great statesmen; for Poincaré will almost certainly count in French history as a statesman, despite his present eclipse.

The Poincaré ministry lasted something less than two years and a half, a very long span of time in the history of French cabinets. None of the men mentioned as successors has a reputation for strength comparable with that of Poincaré, and the chances favor a return to short ministries. Doubtless Poincaré will pass over to the opposition and become an exceedingly dangerous leader. Even in defeat he must be reckoned a factor.

Now that the Dawes Report has established German capacity and obligation to pay and to pay largely, France feels that Poincaré, whose policy led to this result, can well be replaced by a man better qualified to exploit the victory the former President had won. For the new man negotiations with Britain and even with Germany will be easier. Thus the French election is a real gain for the prospective settlement of the reparations problem.

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN NEW YORK STATE

BY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

YEARS ago the duties of the Governor of New York State required him to spend possibly six months of the year in Albany. This would cover the legislative session of three or four months and occasional visits to the capital during the remainder of the year. Meanwhile, the Governor usually spent his time in his own home somewhere else in the State, looking after his own affairs. A budget of twenty million dollars, and even so recently as ten years ago fifty or sixty million dollars, took care of the needs of the State.

In the short space of one hundred years, since the Erie Canal was opened, Manhattan has become the metropolis of the world, and Buffalo, at the other end of the State, has developed from a trading-post into a great city. In between are the rivers, the forests and the lakes, and the great industrial cities that make New York the Empire State.

With the growth of industry and the complicated needs of modern civilization, the government of the State necessarily became more complex. The qualities required by an ideal legislator in a State growing so rapidly in every way are not usually procured for the munificent salary of \$1500 a year. It is therefore not surprising to find the State machinery growing year by year more cumbersome and wasteful. Duplication is always wasteful, and as there was never a comprehensive understanding of the whole situation throughout the State, whenever a need for some new function arose, a new department or board or commission was created to take care of it.

The result was that when the State finally stopped to take stock, it found that it had a piece of machinery for administrative government that was made up of one hundred and eighty-seven little pieces, all overlapping, all working along independently, each serenely unconscious of what the others were doing. Under these circumstances,

it was only natural that the budget needed to finance these operations should go up by leaps and bounds. The greatest increase came at the time of the recent war, when prices soared everywhere.

The State has to do housekeeping as well as the householder. It must supply food, clothing, fuel, rent and housing, construction and maintenance for all of its institutions and the wards housed therein. If the housekeeper had to pay more for blankets, so did the State. If the housekeeper had to pay more for groceries, so did the State; and gradually the budget leaped into the hundred millions until, in Governor Smith's first administration, 1919 and 1920, it went to one hundred and forty million dollars.

A Governor's Recommendations

Along with this increasing cost of the State government, many other State functions and activities have expanded. A legislative session and the problems that have to be considered by it illustrate diversity and complexity of these activities. In 1923 and 1924, a mere reading of Governor Smith's annual message to the Legislature will indicate their importance. A program covering home rule for cities, revision of public utilities legislation, reorganization of the State government, the adoption of an executive budget, and a comprehensive program for social and human welfare in the fields of labor, workmen's compensation, child welfare, public health and State control and development of water power, was presented to the Legislature. Along with this went a comprehensive program for improving the institutions of the State, and the passage of a bill authorizing a bond issue of fifty million dollars for new construction to relieve congestion. Housing legislation and the adequate development of a State system of parks, automobile regulation to curb reckless driving, and elimination of railroad crossings at grades were also included.

The cities of the State had been growing more and more restive under control from Albany, and desired a greater freedom from administrative legislation and superimposed State control. The voters passed a constitutional amendment giving a greater grant of home rule to the cities of the State and in the last session of the Legislature an enabling act to make it function. A bond issue for State hospitals was ratified by the voters, but another constitutional amendment attempting to turn over the control of certain important water-power rights to private interests was overwhelmingly voted down by the people.

Some Novel Tax Proposals

The 1924 session of the Legislature opened with a movement for the reduction of taxation, and Governor Smith's message showed the relation of the huge expenditures for State administration, because of the present wasteful organization, to the present high taxation. He also pointed out in this message how the cost of revenue-producing public improvements could be borne directly by the public rather than collected by taxation. He illustrated this by showing how the Port of New York Authority, created as a municipal corporation, had the power to take over and issue its own bonds for the construction of great public improvements—interstate vehicular tunnels, bridges, and even water-front improvements, such as docks, warehouses and connecting railroads.

Based on this principle, Governor Smith recommended the creation of a State Water-Power Authority to which should be given, to hold in perpetuity for the people, the water-power rights of the State, and to retain control of them at their source. To this Power Authority would be given the power to issue bonds against the value of the improvements to be made. The Power Authority was also to be charged with making a comprehensive survey of the State's water-power, and recommending a comprehensive plan for its development. The message also recommended the immediate reduction of the State income tax by 25 per cent.

This bird's-eye view of the legislative program of the sessions of 1923 and 1924 gives an idea of the great issues debated in those sessions. Improvement of rural highways and fundamental constructive changes in the rural education laws were also part of this program.



© Marceau

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH
(Governor of the State of New York)

Putting Efficiency into State Government

Constructive achievement marked both sessions, in spite of the fact that Governor Smith had to struggle with a divided Legislature; the Senate being Democratic by one vote and the Assembly Republican. Through his own efforts in carrying in person the great issues to the people, he managed to create a body of public opinion that forced some of these constructive measures through. The constitutional amendment which consolidates the cumbersome State machinery of one hundred and eighty-seven agencies into twenty homogeneous departments passed the Legislature in 1923. This amendment carries with it, also, the short ballot, by which only the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Comptroller and the Attorney-General are elected by the people and the other officers, the State Engineer, State Treasurer and Secretary of State become appointive. But the Legislature has steadfastly refused to have anything to do with the executive budget. Each year the Senate passes it, and each year the Assembly finds a new reason for turning it down. Thirty-two States and the Federal Government have the executive budget, but New York remains in the

wilderness of the old-fashioned method of legislative making of appropriations, with no fixed responsibility on the executive.

A Non-Partisan Plan

In outlining his reorganization plan, Governor Smith took much of it from the State Constitutional Convention of 1915, and the plan still has the unqualified support of the former Secretary of State, Elihu Root, and Henry L. Stimson, George W. Wickersham, Nicholas Murray Butler, Adelbert Moot, John Lord O'Brian, Martin Saxe, and many other leading Republicans of the State. At one time, when the issue was first discussed, Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes was chairman of a committee of the City Club of New York which approved the plan, and he, himself, made a number of suggestions which were adopted in the proposal for establishing an executive budget.

Part of the program for reorganization comprised the extension of the Governor's term to four years instead of the present two. As soon as executive responsibility would really be focused by the adoption of an executive budget and the appointment by the Governor of the heads of his twenty departments under the proposed consolidation, a four-year term would be the only effective way in which the State could operate. Governor Smith has himself often said that a Governor who has a two-year term "spends the first year in learning the business of the State, and the second year he is usually found sitting on the steps of the capitol at Albany with his spy-glass trained on Washington." He has himself consistently refused to do this last, and the second years of his two administrations have been marked by as continuous study and steady effort as have the first.

A Lesson for Washington

It is curious that while attention has been focused on affairs at Washington, equally significant matters have been passing through the Legislature in New York State. The whole fight for the control of water-power is an illustration. For the twenty years of his public experience, Governor Smith has been a steady advocate of public control and development of these great natural resources. As legislator, member of the Constitutional Convention, and as Governor, he has set his face against every insidious or open attempt on the part of

the great hydro-electric interests of the State and Nation to capture these resources. This last year, he brought out into the open the refusal of the Assembly to pass his proposed water-power legislation creating the water-power authority and emasculating the bill so that it would not contain the declaration of the policy that the State would never alienate to private interests its rights to these resources. This bill failed because he would not accept such a compromise.

During the 1924 session, Associated Industries, a group of manufacturing interests of the State, preferred serious charges of inefficiency, political control and maladministration against the State Labor Department. Quick to react, and seeing in these charges only an attempt to becloud labor legislation, which was coming up before the Legislature, the Governor appointed himself a commissioner to investigate under what is known as the Executive Act, which, in the State of New York, permits the commissioner thus appointed to investigate any department when any charges or complaints are preferred. Calling a session in the Executive Chamber, and summoning before him all of the directors of Associated Industries, and the administrative staff of the Labor Department in person, he conducted a thorough and searching investigation of the charges preferred, with the result that all of them were withdrawn.

Two Years of Achievement

A review of the legislative sessions of the last two years shows much other important legislation put on the statute books as a result of Governor Smith's policy of carrying the issue to the people, securing public opinion to back him, and thus getting a frequently unwilling Assembly to accept his program.

Reluctant to accept the 25 per cent. income-tax reduction because of the possible credit it might give a Democratic Governor, public opinion appeared too strong to hold out against this, and it was passed. In addition, by an economical administration and careful conservation of the State's financial resources, 25 per cent. was also taken off the direct tax on realty, thus relieving the farmers and real-estate owners of the State. In all, a total of seventeen million dollars was saved to the taxpayers—surely an example of an intelligent and

economical administration, doubly significant in view of the present faulty system of state administration, and the absence of an executive budget.

The system of State Parks has been adequately established and placed on a permanent basis through the creation of a State Park Council, a bond issue of fifteen million dollars for their development and improvement during the next ten years, and a proper system of highways connecting them has been outlined.

State institutions are being rapidly improved under the fifty million dollar bond issue, and new construction begun. This year will see over a thousand new beds added. Fire prevention and fire protection in these institutions have also been better provided for than ever before.

Welfare Legislation

Important changes have been made in the workmen's compensation laws of the State, liberalizing the benefits paid, and reducing the waiting period from two weeks to one. While legislation establishing minimum wage boards and the forty-eight-hour week for women and minors failed, many other important changes were made in the labor law, and the Labor Department was effectively reestablished with adequate appropriations for its operation.

One of the most important features of the program has been the effort to preserve human life. This has been set forward many years by the passing of legislation to require all automobile operators of the State to have an individual license, and placing the control of automobiles in a single department with power to revoke these licenses and to keep state-wide records of operators. A bond issue of three hundred million dollars was authorized for the gradual elimination of railroad crossings at grade—another great cause of terrible accidents.

The rural communities were greatly benefited by the passage of a bill initiated by the Governor after careful conferences with the medical authorities of the State,

providing for a dollar-for-dollar subsidy for rural counties establishing public health work. This has been termed by public health authorities as "the longest step forward in public health in a decade."

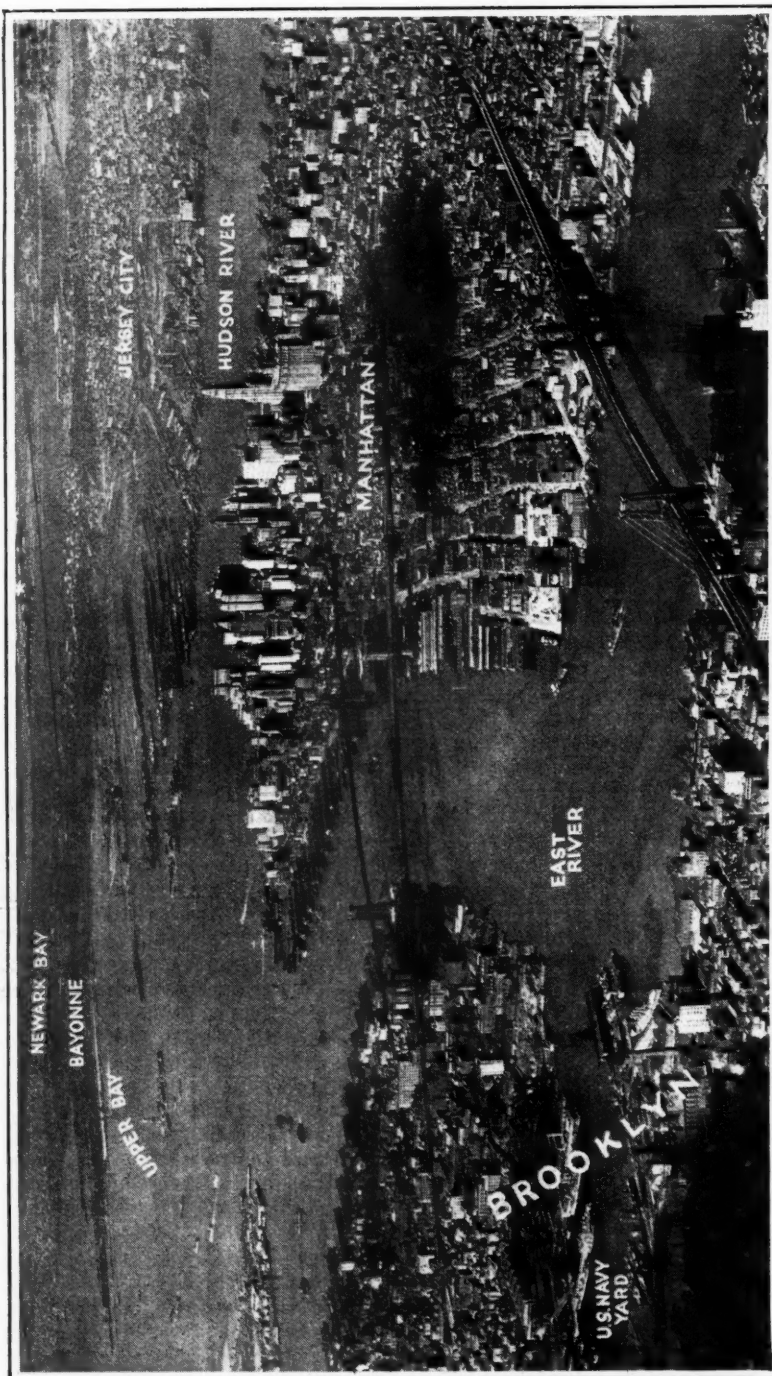
Prison reform was set forward by the adoption of an enlightened policy revolutionizing prison industries. Prisoners are to be paid for their labor, and their families benefited thereby. A new control has been set up which takes into account the prisoner's industrial record along with his other claims to parole or pardon.

A Standard for the Future

While water-power legislation failed, the debate throughout the State has been such, and the position established made so clear, that it is doubtful whether any future attempt of private interests for control of these resources in New York State can ever succeed.

Constructive and important as the record is, it has most of all a bearing on the future of the State. It has set a new standard below which no administration of the Empire State can ever again fall. The people are thoroughly familiar with the issues, because they have been debated in campaigns and set before them by Governor Smith appealing personally to audiences in every part of the State. With its problems affecting nearly eleven million people, New York State offers a picture of human interests and industrial and business interests worthy of the effort of a man of vision, foresight and the personal energy displayed by Governor Smith. Without these qualities, he could not have made any impression on the situation. As it is, he leaves behind him an extraordinary record of achievement in the four years that he has guided the State. As a matter of fact, with the exception of the executive budget, the four-year term for Governor, the women's welfare bill, and water-power and public utilities regulation, he succeeded in impressing a progressive policy on the State along business administrative lines and a human welfare program.





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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE HEART OF NEW YORK CITY

(This is the lower portion of Manhattan Island and a section of the Borough of Brooklyn. The upper third of the picture is New Jersey. Three of the five bridges connecting Manhattan with Brooklyn and Queens boroughs can be seen here: the original Brooklyn Bridge farthest away, next what is known as the Manhattan Bridge, and the Williamsburg Bridge in the foreground. The Statue of Liberty is visible in the Upper Bay)



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THE LOWER END OF MANHATTAN ISLAND AS SEEN FROM THE SKY

(This is the so-called "financial district," with Battery Park in the foreground. Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Williamsburg bridges are in the distance at the right, in the order named)

NEW YORK, THE METROPOLIS OF TO-DAY

BY CHARLES A. BEARD

WHAT is a city? Is it a mere aggregation of human units on a small geographical area or is it, like the notes of a great sonata scattered upon the score, something organic and symphonious, transcending its physical symbols? Immortal Rome has only a few more inhabitants than Buffalo, not as many as Pittsburgh. Rome has people and geographical area; but if every sign of the Forum were obliterated, the Coliseum levelled to make room for an apartment house, and Hadrian's tomb transformed into cracked rock for a new automobile highway, still Rome would not be Buffalo or Pittsburgh. Evidently there is something in the vibrant memories that cluster around the name of a metropolis. How easy it would be to wander off into that labyrinth!

Even if we consider only the living present, we cannot fail to see that the city is more than its outward and visible signs. The huge urban agglomeration, such as

Paris or London, may be likened to Fujiyama, rising in the social plain and dominating the social landscape with imperious majesty. To take it away would be to destroy spirit and power as well as people and structures. The modern city is yet something more. In an age of steam and steel and wireless its economic forces and its intellectual influence are interlaced by a million flashing shuttles with the fabric of world civilization. What a garment is being woven, as Carlyle would say, upon the roaring loom of time!

People by the Acre

To come down to earth (if not to reality), the matter-of-fact mercantile mind must open an appreciation of New York City with a comparative balance sheet showing area and population. They are definite and are set down in authentic records. There is first of all the legal city; its boundaries are traced on the map by

the hand of the law maker and its inhabitants are enrolled on the pages of the census taker. So we may start an account of New York City with things visible to the eye. Taking the federal census figures, which differ slightly from the official records of New York, we may say that the metropolis of the Empire State is a geographic complex embracing in its five boroughs 191,000 acres, nearly 70,000 more than Chicago but, strange to relate, about 40,000 acres less than the spreading and ambitious Los Angeles. That is the city proper. If we take the figures for the metropolitan district of New York City, the urban area, including the far-reaching environs, we have 751,000 acres against 469,000 for Chicago, and 831,000 for Los Angeles. But nothing is definite except the legal city. By what criteria shall we determine the metropolitan area? The Russell Sage Foundation, in its "Plan of New York and Its Environs" is studying an immense circle, 120 miles in diameter, which gathers into its wide extent Danbury and Newburgh as well as Asbury Park and Lake Hopatcong.

When we begin to count heads, we encounter the same problem. New York City proper had 5,600,000 inhabitants in 1920 (perhaps 6,000,000 in 1924); the

metropolitan district, 7,900,000 inhabitants; the whole urban area as reckoned by the apostles of bigness, 8,000,000 inhabitants. In one ward there are 533 persons per acre; in another 1.2 persons per acre. Now let Chicago and Los Angeles stand revealed. The former has 2,700,000 in the city proper and 3,178,000 in the metropolitan district, and 3,700,000 in the grand sweep of the urban area. The spreading acres of Los Angeles, counting the city proper and every lot within gun-shot, hold only 879,000 souls, counting moving-picture producers, actors, and actresses. Such are the figures for 1920 in round numbers.

Many Tongues and Races

But how pale are population statistics! New York City proper has a foreign-born white population of 1,991,547—people of every race and tongue and culture. It is worth while to unroll the scroll and read the names of the nationalities: Germans, Dutch, Flemings, Frisians, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Italians, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanians, Greeks, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Serbo-Croats, Bulgars, Lithuanians, Letts, Hebrews (including the Yiddish group), Magyars, Finns, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, Turks, Albanians, unknown, all others, and mixed!

At the top stand the Yiddish and Hebrew group with 516,080 representatives, the English and Celtic with 324,984, the Italian with 392,190; and the Germanic with 257,727, with the other nationalities trailing off down to the Albanians who have 94 spokesmen. These are the *foreign-born* whites. To them must be added, to complete the reckoning, all persons having one or both parents of foreign birth. These figures give us 946,139 of Yiddish and Hebrew stock; 897,452 English and Celtic; 603,048 Italian; and 690,789 Germanic. To this grand mixture of races must be added more than 150,000 Negroes, of native and foreign birth. The Far East and the islands of the Pacific furnish their quotas. The Chinese have a town of their own,



THE FIVE BOROUGHES COMPRISING THE CITY OF NEW YORK

(Manhattan Borough is the smallest in area and the largest in population. At the time of consolidation, in 1898, Brooklyn was itself the fourth largest city in the United States; but Queens, the Bronx, and Richmond were largely undeveloped. The borough of Richmond—known also as Staten Island—still suffers through lack of transportation facilities; but the other outlying boroughs continue to grow at an ever-increasing rate)

while the Japanese are scattered from Brooklyn to the Bronx.

Occupations of New Yorkers

And what are these multitudes doing? Ten thousand of them are actors and actresses who entertain the metropolis and go to and fro along the winding trails that lead beyond Chicago and Sioux City to Yankton and its environs. Eight thousand artists, sculptors, and teachers of art decorate magazine covers and bill-boards or hold up the sign of beauty to their busy neighbors. Fourteen thousand eight hundred bankers, brokers, and money lenders, including all the great gentlemen of Wall Street and the lady bond-sellers, manage our counting-houses. Nineteen thousand barbers, hair-dressers, and manicurists keep hair and beard and nails groomed. Fifty thousand chauffeurs whirl us about the city, some in limousines, some in sport cars, and more in taxis. Eleven thousand five hundred judges, justices, and lawyers settle our quarrels, punish us for wickedness, and advise us how "to get away with it." Eleven thousand seven hundred policemen and women keep us from mischief or carry us off to the lawyers and courts whenever they may happen to catch us with the goods.

About ten thousand physicians and surgeons fain would cure our ailments and cut out our appendices. Fifteen thousand professional musicians and teachers of music fill the air with the strains and blares of every known instrument, from the strumming koto to the groaning saxophone. Nineteen thousand plumbers and gas-fitters do time at our expense. Ten thousand elevator boys and girls jerk us up and down. One hundred and nineteen thousand sales-people serve us in the stores. Twenty-one thousand four hundred telephone operators link up the floods of endless chatter. Thirty-three thousand teachers—including



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NEW YORK CITY HALL AND THE MUNICIPAL BUILDING

(The City Hall was completed in 1812. The front is of white marble but the rear is of brownstone, for the city fathers—so the story goes—never thought that the town would grow beyond it. Immediately in the rear is the County Court House. The tall structure, known as the Municipal Building, houses the city departments and bureaus. It is two blocks long, with the intervening Chambers Street running through its lower floors.)

primary-school mistresses driving A B Cs into the heads of Johnny and Susie (or Tony and Ikke) and the professor of Coptic poring over his ancient texts—keep the lamp of learning bright. Eighty thousand stenographers and typists lift their clicking din to high heaven. Four thousand clergymen of more faiths than can be reckoned in these pages point out more ways to paradise than lead to Rome. All the rest, except the idlers and the students, are engaged somewhere in industry and trade.

A Federal Government

The government of this vast urban aggregation, like that of the United States, is federal in form. One hundred and nine years after the Constitution was set in motion by the inauguration of Washington in Wall Street, the charter of Greater New

York was made a living thing by the installation of Robert Van Wyck as mayor. A union of nearly one hundred old communities, including New York City and Brooklyn, was thus effected under a law passed by the legislature of the State in 1897. This consolidation, the fruit of long and arduous labors, was realized only through compromises such as the Fathers had to make at Philadelphia in 1787 to bring about a union of many diverse provincial elements. As the traces of the accommodations made at Philadelphia to secure an agreement on the Constitution are to be found everywhere in the framework and powers of the Federal Government, so the traces of the long political battle which culminated in 1898 are to be found in the present governmental structure of Greater New York.

It is a federation of five boroughs—Man-

hattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond, and the Bronx. Many rights, especially in the field of administration, are reserved to the boroughs. Unity is represented in three officers elected by the voters of the municipality as a whole—the Mayor, the Comptroller, and the President of the Board of Aldermen. Unity and diversity are represented on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment—a legislative, financial, and administrative agency unlike anything to be found in other American cities. The element of unity is established in the board by the presence of the Mayor, Comptroller, and President of the Board of Aldermen as members; the element of federation is manifested by the presence of one member from each of the five boroughs, known as borough presidents, elected by the voters thereof. But unity predominates because the three members of the board elected at large possess nine out of sixteen votes allotted to the board; the representatives of Manhattan and Brooklyn have two votes each, and the spokesmen of the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond, one each.

Powers of the Board of Estimate

Unlike the Senate of the United States, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment is not a mere branch of the city legislature. It possesses in its own right nearly all the sovereign powers granted to the city. It initiates the budget; the Board of Aldermen can merely reduce and eliminate items, and cannot add to or increase the proposals presented to it by the superior authority. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment in conjunction with the Rapid Transit Commission (a State authority) controls the granting and extension of public-utility franchises in the city. Though stripped of its control over finances and utilities, the Board of Aldermen has important powers over traffic, health, nuisances, circuses, parades, steamboat whistles, and general welfare, except in so far as such powers are vested in State authorities or some other branch of the city government. It is showing no disrespect for the Board of Aldermen to say that it is of no great weight in the government and administration of the city.

Mayor and Borough Presidents

The element of federation that runs through the charter of the city is to be found in administration as well as legislation. The Mayor is the head of the city. He



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THE WOOLWORTH BUILDING, HIGHEST IN THE WORLD

(Rising 792 feet, with 51 stories, it is especially impressive because of the low structures in the immediate neighborhood. At the left is the old Post-Office, generally condemned as an eyesore, while in the foreground is a corner of City Hall Park. The Woolworth Building is valued by the taxing authorities at \$11,250,000, and is quite as much admired for its architectural lines and embellishments as for its immense height.)



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A SECTION OF NEW YORK CITY'S 500 MILES OF WATERFRONT

(The water-borne commerce of the port of New York amounts to 80-odd million tons in the course of a year. The picture shows the Hudson River and West Street, Manhattan, with the piers of railroad ferries and coastwise shipping in the foreground. Further up the river are the longer piers of the great ocean liners)

appoints and dismisses on his own motion the chiefs of the great departments such as police, fire, health, markets, and docks. A large portion of the administration is centralized in his hands, but not all of it. The presidents of the five boroughs, in addition to serving on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, have within their respective provinces large powers over highways, sewers, public improvements, public buildings, and the enforcement of the building code. In a few cases functions are torn away from the central administrative authorities and vested in the borough president. For example, street cleaning in Queens and Richmond is entrusted to the borough presidents, not to the head of the street-cleaning department of Greater New York. And it should not be forgotten that the five boroughs are as jealous of their rights and prerogatives as were Virginia and South Carolina in the days of Jefferson. They cling desperately to such shreds of sovereignty as are left to them and would

enlarge their authority if they could—for business and political reasons.

Public Services

The services at present rendered to the six million citizens of Greater New York by this vast municipal agency and the private corporations engaged in public work defy the limits of a huge catalogue. All the known arts and sciences are employed to make the city a safer, more healthful, and more comfortable place in which to dwell. The municipality depends upon experts of every kind from architects to zymotic disease specialists as well as efficient administrators and able-bodied laborers. The department in charge of water supply patrols more than 800 square miles of watersheds in the Catskills, Westchester, and Putnam counties, on Long Island and within the city limits; it delivers more than 700,000,000 gallons of pure water daily to the inhabitants—over 100 gallons per capita, over 500 gallons per family, approximately

two and one half tons daily per household. In a thousand ways it safeguards the health, food supply, and milk consumed in the city, and by enlightened measures it reduces the death rate. New York stands high among the great cities of the world in public-health work. In the public schools of the city more than 25,000 teachers instruct over 800,000 pupils. In every section of the city there are public and private hospitals for the treatment of every known disease, equipped with all the appropriate devices that imagination can conceive and supplied with all the skill that modern science can command; to the sick and injured the swift ambulance speeds through the crowded streets—humanity incarnate in scientific service. Three-fourths of those who seek relief are treated without charge.

Six thousand firemen are on guard day and night against the deadly perils of flame and explosion and are daunted by no dangers; a watchful fire prevention bureau enforces an elaborate code of laws. To the wisdom of the law-makers and the tireless energy of those who serve in the fire department the people of New York owe a security which is beyond price. It makes one shudder to think of the appalling loss of life that would ensue if a single fire escaped the vigilance of these zealous guardians, especially in the crowded sections of the city, or among the towering office and industrial buildings with their teeming thousands high in the air.

If the streets of the city which must be maintained, lighted, cleaned, and patrolled, were set together in a straight line they would extend more than 3,500 miles—all the way to San Francisco and far beyond. Five-sevenths of this enormous mileage is covered by the metropolitan sewer system which adds to the comfort of the people in a way that is beyond the appreciation of anyone who has not lived amid the sights and smells of some Old World city.

Most remarkable of all the public services, perhaps, is the immense system of transportation. Americans are a restless people. In New York City alone, approximately 2,500,000,000 rides are annually taken by the citizens and the strangers within our gates, in the surface, elevated, and subway cars, to say nothing of the bus and the taxi. The per capita expenditure on car fares rises above \$20 a year, or \$100 for the average family. The huge transportation enterprise is mainly in private hands. The city owns the subways but leases them to companies and it operates a few buses. The surface lines and the elevated are the property of private corporations, subject to the supervision of the State Transit Commission. Of the \$1,000,000,000 capital (more or less) invested in the various undertakings, about one-fourth represents the holdings of the municipality and the remainder the bonds and stocks of private



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THE NEW BOARDWALK AT CONEY ISLAND

(Long stretches of the southern shore of Brooklyn and Queens boroughs are sandy beaches where ocean surf bathing is popular. The best known of these beaches is at Coney Island; others are at Brighton, Manhattan, and Rockaway. A warm Sunday or holiday will bring half a million New Yorkers and visitors to these beaches. The picture above shows a portion of the boardwalk at Coney Island, opened last year—eighty feet wide and a mile and a half long)

parties. Fifty years of political warfare leaves the traction problem of New York still unsolved, but by one process or another we have managed to secure a transportation system which, for swiftness and safety, is hardly rivaled anywhere in the world.

Mayor Hylan and His Administration

The chief of this great administrative organ, Mayor John F. Hylan, like many leaders in the sphere of politics, rose from humble origin through the university of hard knocks. He was born in 1868 on a farm in Greene County, New York, was educated in local schools, worked for a time as a brakeman and then as a fireman on a local railroad, drove a locomotive on the Brooklyn Elevated Railway for several years, and turned with extraordinary facility to the practice of law. It does not appear that his practice was lucrative; at all events he did not become a rich man at the bar. In accordance with legal traditions, Mr. Hylan early took an interest in politics as a regular organization Democrat, and, after securing an appointment as a local magistrate, he was elected to the office of county judge in Brooklyn. In the course of his rise he displayed no little versatility. He was not himself a fluent orator; he seldom spoke offhand on abstruse themes of finance and administration; and he displayed more felicity in denouncing "the traction gang, the Rockefeller crowd, the Gary schools, and municipal experts," than in discussing the technicalities of transportation and budget-making.

The tide of political fortune ran with Mr. Hylan, and he was elected mayor in 1917 by a triumphant majority. At the end of his four-year term in 1921 he was again elected over a fine citizen and valiant soldier, Mr. John H. Curran. He had made an indomitable fight against the efforts of the traction interests to get an increased fare without a fair and equitable readjustment



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UPPER FIFTH AVENUE, WITH CENTRAL PARK AT THE LEFT

(The view here is northward from Central Park Plaza, at Fifty-ninth Street. Lower Fifth Avenue has become a business thoroughfare, but this stretch opposite the Park has maintained its residential character. In the farther half of the plaza in the foreground is the famous equestrian statue of General Sherman, by Saint-Gaudens.)

of their rights and privileges. The old cry, "Turn Tammany out," fell on deaf ears, and the voters gave thanks for "the five-cent fare."

Former Tammany Methods Now Obsolete

In reality Tammany is not what it used to be. In fact, it never was the terrible ogre conjured up in the fervid imagination of Mr. Roosevelt's "silk-stocking crowd." Moreover, as municipal administration becomes increasingly technical, politics of the baser kind is driven into the background. Mr. Murphy, even in his worst temper, knew that a vociferous and horny-handed wielder of a pick could do the party no credit in a bacteriological laboratory or in preparing specifications for a Broadway pavement. The public knows more than it did and has standards of its own. The

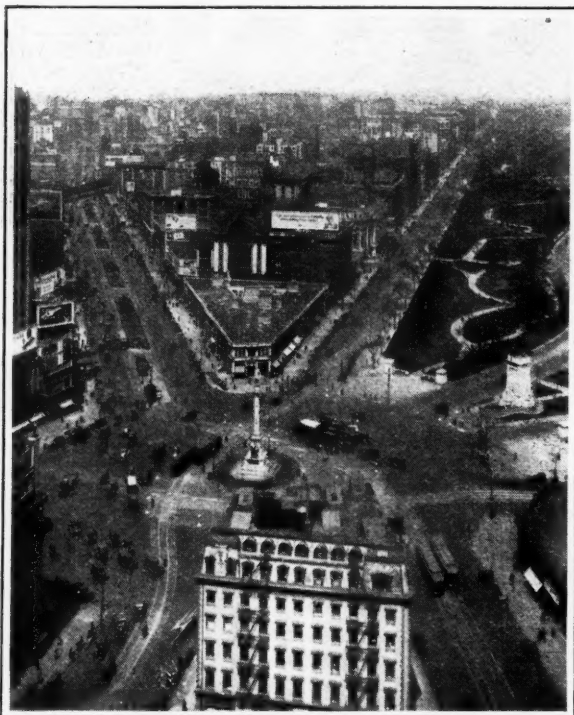
circle in which the boss can do as he pleases without reference to the established rules of the game is growing narrower as a result of the advance of science and public information. No doubt there are loose ends, but if there are any horrors in New York City such as the Lexow and Mazet commissions dug up in the old days, surely the Republican legislative committee, sent down with money and a muck-rake in 1921, would have uncovered something. After digging and raking for weary days and weeks, the committee beat a retreat that was painful to watch.

In fact, the currents run against the boss. The grand master of Tammany, even if he had the genius and the will, could not make himself a Tweed or a Croker. His bailiwick, Manhattan, is only one of the provinces in

the federation. It is declining in population while the outlying boroughs are growing rapidly. Manhattan has only 2,267,006 inhabitants out of the 5,927,617 in Greater New York, using the estimates of 1923. In another year or two Brooklyn will outnumber Manhattan. The handwriting is on the wall. The old-fashioned saloons are gone—the ten thousand open centers where “the boys” congregated to express their desires and receive orders from above. State legislation respecting the ballot, the registration of voters, primaries, and election processes makes the strong-arm methods of old a bit obsolete—except when applied to Socialist candidates for the Board of Aldermen. The permanent civil service deprives the party machine of rich spoils; the policeman on his beat cannot be fired with impunity and without recourse. The phonograph, the movie, the radio, and the illustrated paper make party balls, clambakes, huckleberry-pie contests, and sea-breeze outings less alluring to the braves.

Women in City Politics

Also, let it not be forgotten, the women have appeared on the scene. From the days of the cave to the days of the Astor Hotel, the ladies have had a mollifying influence on masculine affairs. They do not want the elections held in a Black Hole of Calcutta; they do not want their heads broken while they are casting their ballots. They demand and receive places on all committees, general and executive. They attend primaries, caucuses, and conventions, and they inevitably carry along with them a certain domestic orderliness and dust broom philosophy which tone down the rough and ready processes of the bar-room and convention hall. It is a tribute to the remarkable facility of the braves of Fourteenth Street that, after making a wry face for a few minutes, they welcomed the ladies with all the suavity of St. Tammany him-



COLUMBUS CIRCLE, WHERE BROADWAY CROSSES EIGHTH AVENUE AT FIFTY-NINTH STREET

(The upper part of Manhattan was laid out more than a hundred years ago, upon the “gridiron” plan. Avenues run north and south and streets run east and west with mathematical and geometrical precision. Practically the only variation from that scheme—north of the “down town” section—is Broadway, the old post road to Albany, whose slant the city planners found it impossible to change. Broadway intersects at a sharp angle most of the other thoroughfares, thus affording the only vistas in the entire borough and creating what are known as Union Square, Madison Square, Greeley or Herald Square, and Times Square. The picture above shows Broadway at the left and Central Park West, with the Maine Memorial at the entrance to the park.)



Kadel & Herbert

FIFTH AVENUE IN A FASHIONABLE SHOPPING DISTRICT

(This is the most congested of all New York City's thoroughfares, extending without the slightest bend from Washington Square at about Eighth Street northward to the Harlem River at One hundred and forty-first Street. Commercial vehicles are not allowed on Fifth Avenue, yet there are six lanes of vehicular traffic. It is one of the show-places of the metropolis)

self, sat over to give them room on the bench, and took a cup of tea with a bit of lemon. So Tammany is still with us. After gathering in a few rumors from the recent past of Chicago and taking a run through London, Berlin, Paris, Rome, Tokyo, and Peking, one may venture the hazardous assertion that, with all its faults, which are grievous enough, New York City is one of the best-governed cities on this mundane sphere. There is a power, not Tammany or ourselves, that accomplishes things.

New York as a Shopping Center

Whatever may be said of feminine influence in politics, there is no doubt that its weight in merchandising and manufacturing passes all sober calculations. As a shopping center, there is no other city in the world comparable with New York. The spoils of the markets in the four corners of the earth are garnered into the shops of the metropolis. Let the man from Mars com-

pare Fifth Avenue with any street in London, Paris, or Rome. There is no need for any person to go abroad in search of raiment; the goods are here. There is no mystery about this. The Americans have money; that is not to be denied. The English, French, Germans, Italians, Japanese, Chinese, and all the other races and nationalities are more than eager to exchange goods for it. There is no mystery about that either. Do not most of the great houses of Paris have their branches here? Do not the records of imports in every class show a fabulous stream of goods of every kind flowing into the markets of the city? Moreover, American women are displaying a little bit of disconcerting independence in their dealings with the fashion dictators of Paris. Some of the best designers of that city work under American direction in New York shops. American fabrics, in texture, color, and finish, steadily improve. American pottery is no longer to be despised. In mechanical ap-

pliances for office, shop, and home, America leads the way and New York is the head of the procession because all great manufacturers must have either their main works or branches here.

Just as surely as accumulated fortunes made Florence, Venice, and Genoa centers of luxury and refinement in the grand days of Mediterranean commerce, so accumulated fortunes in the hands of the third and fourth generation in New York are sweeping away the rough gusto of the pioneer and substituting the excellence of veneer—for all civilization, even the most ancient, is veneer, so near is man to dust. As Europe in the Middle Ages looked to Florence and Venice for direction in matters of elegance, so the western hemisphere, if no other quarter, will turn to New York City. Even Newcastle, Indiana, has its New York Store.



THE MODERN TYPE OF TALL BUILDING IN NEW YORK CITY

(Under zoning regulations adopted within recent years, the height of new buildings is governed by the width of the street. This is to allow light and air to reach the street below. A "skyscraper" can in future be erected only if it faces a park or an extremely wide boulevard. To meet the new conditions, architects have devised the "setback" type of building, which has the effect of increasing the width of the street and therefore permitting higher construction. Our picture shows the Hotel Shelton, on Lexington Avenue at Forty-ninth Street.)

Some Money Values

In riches and finances, New York presents so many facets that imagination cannot encompass them all. We may start with a few tangible figures. The tax budget for the Greater City for the year 1923 was \$353,350,975, but that does not include all capital outlays from the sale of bonds or all current expenditures from revenue producing utilities. The New York budget for the year 1920 was more than equal to the combined budgets of Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago. The net bonded debt of the city of New York is over one billion dollars—more than ten times the total national debt which many fearsome Fathers of the Republic thought too heavy for the broad back of America in 1789.

The assessed valuation of the real property within the corporate limits is over ten billion dollars—one-eighth the valuation of all the farm property in all the States of the Union. Nearly one-fourth of the enormous tribute that flows into the Treasury of the United States from personal income taxes is gathered in the city of New York. The bank clearings for the year 1923 reached a staggering total of \$214,000,000,000 as against \$30,000,000,000 for Chicago, \$24,000,000,000 for Philadelphia, and \$19,000,000,000 for Boston. The total deposits in all the banks of the city run well above \$7,000,000,000, and their resources more than \$8,500,000,000.

The borrowers of America and all the world turn to New York—representatives of imperial Japan and republican Czechoslovakia. The bonds and notes of every government on the globe are bought and sold either on the Exchange or in the houses of the brokers. It is to the quotations on the New York Exchange that men of affairs from Penobscot to Honolulu turn each morning to find how beats the pulse of prosperity and enterprise. It is to New York that the Government of France turns frantically for help when the franc takes a headlong plunge toward oblivion and from New York it receives sustenance and strength. And yet unlike ancient Rome or modern London, the real financial power of New York does not depend upon the normal functioning of a wide-reaching and fragile empire. If all the governments whose bonds are listed in New York should repudiate their obligations to-morrow, a few

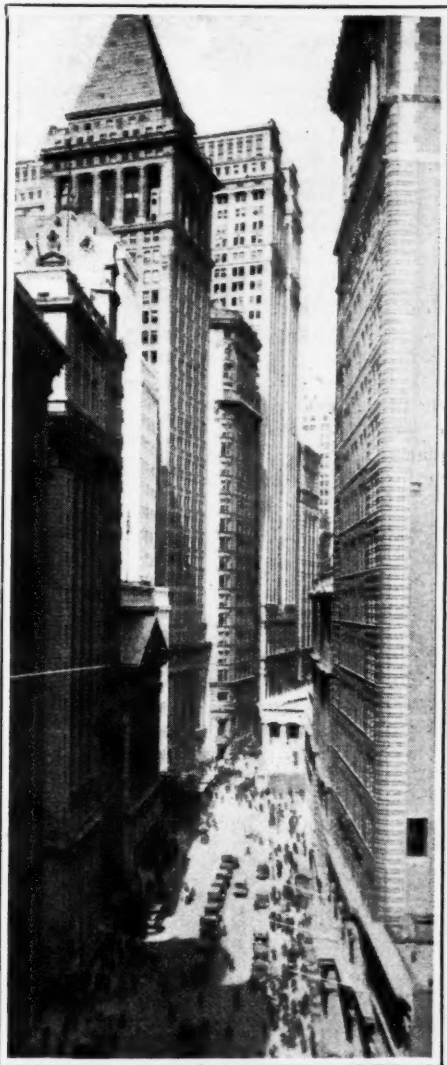
financiers would be sent scuttling from limousines to street cars, but the structure of finance would not be shattered. The financial power of New York rests upon the industries and agriculture of continental United States. Those who take the long view of things may well hope that its base will never change.

New York's Industrial Greatness

Those who are accustomed to think of cities in terms of manufacturing do not ordinarily count New York City among the great industrial centers of the United States, but this is an error of the first order. This metropolis is thought of as the home of finance, commerce, and shipping rather than the seat of industry. There are no steel mills such as are to be found in Pittsburgh, no packing houses equal to those of Chicago and Kansas City, no automobile plants comparable to the structures of Detroit. Nevertheless, reckoning things in terms of values in dollars, New York City factories yield about one-twelfth the total annual output of manufactured products in the country. To speak exactly, in 1919, the value of manufactures for the whole United States was \$62,418,000,000, and New York City supplied a total of \$5,260,000,000. Women's clothing stands first in rank; men's clothing next; and books, magazines, newspapers, and publications third. These three items account for more than \$1,400,000,000. High on the list are foundry and machine products, tobacco, millinery and lace goods, copper, tin, and sheet-iron, meat products and bakery products, paints and varnishes, silk and silk goods, jewelry, furniture, patent medicines, and musical instruments. Dependent for her prosperity upon widely diversified industries, New York is not at the mercy of any market or any single combination of capital and labor. Business depression is seldom spread over the entire field and a strike of a hundred thousand workers in one branch does not paralyze the business of the metropolis.

Transportation Systems

The raw materials for these industries and the finished products that flow out of their doors are carried by marvelous systems of transportation that have their terminals in every clime and under every sky. More than one hundred steamship lines have regular sailings to and from this



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A CANYON IN THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT

(This is Broad Street, so named because it is wider than neighboring thoroughfares in the older part of Manhattan. The low building at the left is the Stock Exchange, and the still lower structure facing the reader is the Sub-Treasury on Wall Street. The building with the pyramid roof is the Bankers Trust, while the one in the distance is the Equitable Building, 37 stories high, the largest though not the tallest building in the city)

port. If a merchant misses one steamer with a cargo of goods, he can catch another in a few days. He has many choices among routes. He can ship to Yokohama, Shanghai, and Manila by way of Seattle or San Francisco or through the Panama Canal.

Nine great railway systems carry goods and passengers to and from the port: the New York Central; the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western; the Baltimore & Ohio; the Erie; the Pennsylvania; the Lehigh Valley; the Central Railroad of New Jersey; the New York, New Haven & Hartford; and the Long Island lines.

Any day in the week, the traveler may set sail for Europe; almost any hour in the day, he may depart for Washington, St. Louis, Chicago, or San Francisco. It is estimated from careful records that about 40,000,000 passengers pass through Grand Central Terminal alone every year—more than one-third the number of people dwelling in the United States. From 700 piers scattered along a shore-line water front of nearly 600 miles, steamers of every size and bound to almost every imaginable port offer their services to manufacturers, merchants, and passengers. Banks and consulates of every nationality make smooth the way for the transactions of finance and commerce with all lands. Skilled labor for every craft and enterprise, speaking almost every tongue and acquainted with the tastes and requirements of the most remote markets, stands ready to meet all demands. Where in the world is to be found such a varied and flexible economic organism? Even London, though comparable in size and activity, with characteristics all its own, offers nothing so heterogeneous and colorful.

A Publishing Center

As the statistics of manufacturing show, New York City is a marvelous center of intellectual activity or, at all events, cerebration. The eyes of all budding poets, journalists, novelists, and scenario writers are turned toward the Statue of Liberty. Save for a few noteworthy exceptions among the popular magazines and still fewer exceptions among the more serious monthlies, practically all the periodical publishing of the nation is done in New York. For confirmation one has only to look at the imprint on the American periodicals spread out in any public library between Charleston and Seattle. The great book-publishing houses, special and general, with some exceptions, are here. Every year more than \$200,000,000 worth of white paper covered with marks pours from the presses and binderies of Manhattan alone, to say nothing of the publishers whose plants are in outlying districts. Six thousand editors,

reporters, and authors reside in the metropolis. The mails groan with manuscripts from ambitious writers residing in every city, town, and village in the country, and even from the farmhouses in lonely places. More than 20,000 typesetters and linotype operators keep up a vociferous din day and night putting into shining metal the words that stream from pen and typewriter; altogether more than 40,000 people are engaged in printing and publishing.

Universities, Colleges, and Museums

The intellectual and artistic resources of New York City, to say nothing of commercialized entertainment, are simply immense. Comparisons are dangerous and of doubtful value; the great capitals of the world, for special things, stand out unchallenged; but anyone who tries to strike a general average will find New York no mean place when it comes to the enlargement of the mind and the delight of the eye. Three universities—Columbia, New York, and Fordham—survey the whole field of higher learning, covering all things from bonnet-making to zymotic diseases. The first is Episcopalian in origin, the second Presbyterian, and the third Catholic, but their doors swing open hospitably to all that thirst for academic knowledge. For the boys and girls of the city, the College of the City of New York and Hunter College offer free collegiate education. One local Roman Catholic constituency is served by Manhattan College and another by Brooklyn College. For the girls of Brooklyn, Adelphi College offers higher learning near at hand. There are technical schools, medical schools, and theological seminaries to prepare for the serious business of making a living. But it is not the air of Oxford and Cambridge that broods over these institutions. Rather do they fit into the towering office buildings and merge into the rush and roar of the elevated. No dreaming spires rise over dreaming dons; in every corridor and on every tiny campus there are bustle and hustle; learning is reckoned in "units" and degrees are conferred when the recording, computing, and tabulating machines have ground out the required totals. No one should complain. Oxford and Padua served their day. Our institutions serve our day.

Other American cities have colleges and universities, but none has such a splendid

collection of galleries, museums, and institutes. The Museum of Natural History, Central Park West and Seventy-seventh Street, tells the story of mankind in fossils, bones, carvings, pottery, textiles, paintings, and implements from the prehistoric age to the dawn of history. In its halls the visitor can see the successive ages of the animal kingdom, all arranged in a setting that reveals consummate art. Then there are special collections that fill a catalogue. Not far away across Central Park is the Metropolitan Museum of Art with its precious collections ranging the centuries from the year 3000 B. C. to the latest hour and representing all lands from pole to pole. More than twelve hundred paintings reveal the spirit of all the great schools.

Whoever seeks the subtlest work of hand and brain, whether it is chased armor or inlaid vanity boxes, whether it is gold, silver, bronze or jade, will find many things to kindle his heart and cause him to give thanks. To this great collection has been recently added the late Mr. J. P. Morgan's private collection of books, manuscripts, and objects of art separately housed near his former residence. Far to the north at Broadway and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street is the fascinating Museum of the American Indian with its two million exhibits portraying every phase of Indian ethnology and archeology. Near by is the Hispanic Museum with its rare manuscripts, its masterpieces of art, and its rich assembly of beautiful objects. Across East River are the museums of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, which are altogether worthy of the city of homes. For research work, the New York Public Library at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue offers its 1,500,000 books and pamphlets—a collection exceeded in size by not more than four or five other libraries in the world, including the library of Congress, and standing first in the world if measured by the number of readers.



A NEW DEVELOPMENT, THOUGH IN THE HEART OF THE CITY

(This is Park Avenue north of Grand Central Station, with the tracks of the New York Central Railroad beneath the street. Formerly, before electrification of the road, this avenue was partly an open-cut to allow smoke to escape from the steam trains below. It has been said that the increase in real-estate values along Park Avenue is greater than the total cost of the railway improvement, including the new terminal and forty miles of four-track electrified railroad)

The City's Architecture

In domestic, business, and industrial architecture, New York has no occasion to be ashamed. The Woolworth Tower swaying in the heavens is a thing of beauty and a joy to every one except a few pinchbecks who think that the excellence of a building depends upon the degree of its uselessness and its inadaptability to the pressing exigencies of life. Some of the newer office buildings and apartments, stepped back as they rise to the skies, to afford more light and air under the zoning laws, produce majestic effects that make cubist art a living thing, more commanding than the pyramids or the dome of St. Paul's.

Those whose architectural minds turn backward in time for delight will find their hearts' content in the cool, gray, austere St. Patrick's Cathedral rising 339 feet above the throngs of Fifth Avenue, combining



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**ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, ON FIFTH AVENUE
AT FIFTIETH STREET**

(Said to be the most imposing Church edifice in the United States. The spires rise to a height of 339 feet, and the building extends back 332 feet on the side streets. The Cathedral was begun in 1858 and dedicated twenty-one years later)

solidity and grace, awe and peace. If anyone has imagination strong enough, he can finish the fragments of St. John the Divine, on Morningside Heights, carrying its spires 500 feet above the escarpment, higher than St. Peter's, higher than Chartres, higher than Seville, and overtopped only twelve feet by the soaring pinnacle of Cologne.

Turning to the southward, the traveler in New York will find a wholesome flavor of older times in the structure and finish of the City Hall and a challenging contrast in the mountainous Municipal Building to the

east, which houses a large part of the business of the city administration. Then on a clear day, swing to the summit of the Woolworth Building to envisage in a single sweep of the eye the ensemble of jagged towers, of massive hulks shouldering against the sky, of myriad streets flung like a net to every point of the compass, the winding waterways, wide and hospitable bays, high bridges, and great ships moored at the docks or headed for the open sea. Do this, and then ask yourself honestly, having nothing but the heavens above you, whether in the history of titanic human effort there was ever such a scene or such a stunning manifestation of sheer power, ruthless, protean, defiant. Surely there is nothing like it except a storm at sea smashing guards and rails and life-boats or the seething muttering of molten lava at the bottom of Kilauea's crater.

The astounding thing about this huge aggregation of structures is that it has grown haphazard and pell-mell without any grand plan to guide it. The lower end of Manhattan was platted according to the designs of a Dutch town of the seventeenth century; to that beginning were added narrow and winding sinuosities fashioned after the London of Dr. Johnson's day; then in 1807 the city fathers, alarmed by the rapid growth of the metropolis, set about securing a great design. A commission was appointed; it made inquiries; it philosophized gravely; and then it laid out the checkerboard scheme for Manhattan which is to be found generally above Washington Square. Artists and city planners have said many harsh things about this deadly uniform scheme of streets without diagonals and vistas, but there it is and modern New Yorkers must make the best of it. If it had not been for ancient Broadway sprawling along toward Albany, the monotony would have been still more deadly. But it should be said for the fathers that through no fault of their own they did not foresee the subway or the river tunnels and they thought that the traffic would naturally flow east and west from river to river. Moreover it should be set down to their credit that they laid out many open spaces for parks and rest spots, which were afterward struck from the map under the influence of avaricious real-estate promoters and their political friends. As for the rest of the great metropolis, there is no plan at all, but rather a mosaic of

many pieces, each created with the laying out and opening of new additions.

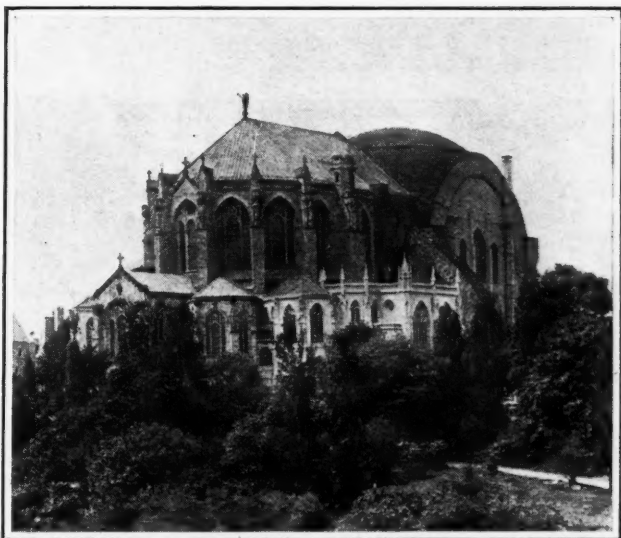
Problems of Urban Growth

It was to help undo ancient wrongs and set the people to thinking in terms of comprehensive unity that the Russell Sage Foundation in 1922 organized a committee of public-spirited citizens to study the whole metropolitan region and work out concrete proposals to control the growth of the urban center in the interests of economy, convenience, and comfort. Fortunately the ground had already been prepared by the work of zoning the city and regulating the height of buildings, begun by the municipal government in the year 1916.

As New York is not a national capital, there is no permanent center of things made rigid and historic by a group of monumental public buildings. The scenes are always shifting. The financial district, of course, remains in the neighborhood of Trinity Churchyard as of yore, but the most powerful banks, with one or two notable exceptions, follow their customers up-town with numerous branches. Newspaper row still looks down on City Hall Place, but the *Times* is at Forty-second Street and the *Tribune*, surely not without sadness, now leaves Horace Greeley's haunts for Fortieth Street. The theaters are scattered along Broadway and the intersecting streets just above Forty-second Street. Fifth Avenue from Twenty-eighth to Central Park is preëminently the shopping row.

The garment trades that once tended to coagulate along lower Fifth Avenue are being scattered east and west under the persistent efforts of civic associations to clear the Avenue for merchandising.

The visitor from Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Bismarck who looks for the residential district will be baffled. Fifth Avenue has lost its brown-stone supremacy. A few old families—that is, thirty or forty years old—still cling to their ancient domiciles,



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

(Even in its unfinished condition this Cathedral of the Protestant Episcopal Church represents an expenditure of more than \$5,000,000, and when completed it will have cost four times as much. St. John's will be the third largest cathedral in the world in area, and the second highest. There will be seats for 7,000 persons. Some of the seven chapels are as commodious as many churches. It is expected that the Cathedral will be completed within ten years.)

but most of the "stately mansions" belong to up-and-comers of recent hours or gentlemen from Pittsburgh and Montana who seek the savor of ancient things. Even the home of Mrs. Astor—the Mrs. Astor—is to come down in a few days to make room for a great apartment house. Park Avenue is now the row; its huge hulks house the multitudes with great incomes. Whoever seeks the semi-detached villa or the beamed ceiling bungalow must travel far away to the outskirts of Brooklyn, Queens, or the Bronx. The hotels naturally are drawn by the magnets of Grand Central and the Pennsylvania Station, but mounting ground rents drive many proprietors to upper Broadway because not everyone of the 200,000 visitors who come to "do" the town each day enjoys a per diem income of one hundred dollars.

The Newness of New York

One cannot close even a hasty survey of this vast aggregation of human beings, structures, and activities, without some thought of other times. New York is unique among the premier cities of the world. It is not an old capital, like London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, or Peking;



TYPICAL ROWS OF APARTMENT HOUSES IN BRONX BOROUGH

(In older Manhattan multi-family houses were known generally as tenements or flats; but when the Bronx began to develop—with the opening of the first subway rapid-transit, twenty years ago—there appeared the modern apartment house. Before the subway came, Bronx had 250,000 population; now, twenty years later, it has nearly 900,000.)

it is not an ancient city as things go; it has no historic monuments like Westminster Abbey, Sainte Chappelle, Tokugawa's castle walls, or the Forbidden City. New York is poor in antiquities and historic scenes. Trinity Churchyard with its fading inscriptions may seem ancient to the visitor from Little Rock, but not to the neighboring Italian bootblack whose ancestors wheeled bricks on Capitoline Hill. Only a few buildings of older days are left. On the corner of Broad and Pearl Streets there is the Fraunces Tavern, restored to the form it was supposed to have in 1783, when Washington with trembling voice and dim eyes bade farewell to his officers in its great room. In the Jumel Mansion far uptown can be seen a colonial dwelling about which

some thin romance clusters. Away out in Van Cortlandt Park is an old manor house with a complement of furnishings that recall those far-off days when feudal lords ruled the Hudson Valley and George Washington was a boy in Virginia—days that lie nearly two thousand years this side of the men who lifted the vaulted roof of the Pantheon. To the east in the Bronx is Edgar Allan Poe's poor little cottage where the pious pilgrim may behold the tragedy with his own eyes. Here and there a bronze tablet marks the site of some heroic deed or historic scene. And the tale is told. New York is a modern commercial city. It is as young as Athens in Aristotle's day. What will it be when two thousand years have rolled over its peaks and spires?



Photograph from Willey Bros., Inc., Builders

ONE-FAMILY DWELLINGS IN QUEENS, WHERE FARMERS TOILED TWO YEARS AGO

(Thousands of these homes have been erected as a result of the housing shortage that began in 1919, with the ever increasing demands of apartment landlords. The movement of New York's population away from crowded sections and into the suburbs has been almost beyond belief. Our illustration shows a street in one development comprising more than 500 homes erected through the energy of a young man with imagination and some war-time experience)

POLITICAL PARTIES IN GERMANY

BY ALEXIS GOLDENWEISER

(Written at Berlin)

POLITICALLY speaking, the Germans are an uneducated people. They have a great instinct for discipline and a love for order, as well as capacity for organization and the habit of collective action; but they are novices in the art of self-government.

And how could this be otherwise? Before the revolution of 1918, conditions in Germany were not favorable to the development of an independent body of citizens. The government was organized as a dictatorship; Germany was aptly called a hierarchical state (*ein Obrigkeitsstaat*). In the center was the Emperor and the Chancellor with ministers whom he appointed and dismissed at will; at the periphery were bureaucratic departments with the inevitable privy counselor at the head. The German people knew how to obey the government and how to make sacrifices for the beloved Vaterland, but they acquired no experience in independently selecting rulers, or in exercising control over them.

The defects of the political education of the people inevitably affected the workings of the new government which was organized after 1918. In Germany there is a lack of that live connection between parliament, the government, and public opinion, which is the essence of a democratic state. Existing parties do not in any way serve as channels of public opinion which is largely out of sympathy with party programs. Party leaders are not popular and receive no real support from the masses of the people. The Reichstag with its mosaic of parties and the cabinet with its ever-changing coalitions are foreign to the people.

Germany's Five Political Parties

In the last pre-war Reichstag, elected in 1912, there were five principal parties: the Conservatives, the National Liberals, the Center, the Progressives, and the Social Democrats. In addition, there were small

national groups representing outlying provinces which had been annexed by force to the German empire: the party of the Poles, of the Danes, and of the Alsatians. In the present Reichstag, elected in 1920, these latter groups have naturally disappeared because, by the treaty of Versailles, the provinces which they had represented have been detached from Germany.

Of local parties there remain in the present Reichstag two Bavarian parties and the Welfs. But outside of these unimportant changes the general party organization of the Reichstag is an exact reproduction of the old arrangement. You see in it the same five parties sitting in the same places as in 1912. At the right sit the members of the German National Party, which succeeded the Conservatives; next to them is the German People's Party, previously the National Liberals. Then follows the inevitable Center (Catholic), followed by the German Democratic Party, successors to the Progressives, and finally the Social Democrats. At the two extremes of the Reichstag alone there have appeared two small groups, which had no predecessors in the Reichstag of 1912. These are at the extreme right, the *Deutsch-Völkische*, and at the extreme left, the Communists.

In looking at the new Reichstag one notices how few new ideas the German revolution has added to political thought. The fact is that the revolution has not produced a political party to carry out its policies. In the Reichstag there is no "Mountain" and no Gironde, as in the French Convent; nor has it the Whigs of the House of Commons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It goes without saying that party programs have changed somewhat since 1918, but the fact that these changes have been conveniently fitted into the existing party programs

shows clearly how little the German political sea has been stirred by the revolutionary storm.

"The Right," or Conservative Group

As already mentioned, the right wing of the Reichstag is occupied by the members of the German National Party (*Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei*). Its members are the spiritual descendants of the Conservatives, the party of the dominant class in the empire—the so-called Junkers, comprising the agrarians, nobles, and officers. In this party are concentrated the elements which cannot willingly accept the changed governmental régime. Has not the republic robbed them of their ancient privileges and influences? Has it not declared for civic equality and substituted universal suffrage for the curial system? Has it not extinguished that luminary, the imperial court, and all the splendors of the monarchy?

It is natural that the members of the German National Party are convinced and outspoken monarchists. In the past few months, to be sure, they have talked about the republic in more loyal spirit, and during one of the recent governmental crises there was even a plan to include them in a cabinet. But this is explained entirely by tactical maneuvers of the party, which avoids joining openly the rebels and conspirators, such as Hitler, Rossbach, Ehrhardt, Ludendorff. But the press of this party does not consider it necessary to disguise its sympathy for these avowed enemies of the republic. The personnel of the parliamentary leaders of the German National Party, which includes former Imperial Ministers, such as Hergt and Helfferich, together with the cold conservative leader, Count Westarp, shows its real character. Democracy and the republic have in this party an irreconcilable enemy.

One of the two small groups in the Reichstag, the *Deutsch-Volkische*, is the extreme left wing of the Nationals—more reactionary, more fiery, and more sincere. It may be mentioned incidentally that this faction openly proclaims its anti-Semitism.

Stresemann's Own Party

Next to the National Party in the German Reichstag come the seats occupied by members of the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*), which comprises the great majority of the former National Liberals. While most of the German

political parties suffer from a lack of strong and popular leaders, in this party the opposite is the truth. The People's Party is the creature of its present leader and has definite characteristics only to the extent that it reflects him. Its leader is Gustav Stresemann, who before the war was the leader of the National Liberal Party. The revolution forced this able German parliamentarian behind the scenes, because he was badly compromised in Democratic circles by his speeches during the war. Soon after the revolution he made an effort to join the Democrats but he was not accepted by them. Then he decided to found a party of his own. Owing to his colossal energy and great political ability, Stresemann has recently once more come to the front; and consequently his party has gained in importance.

This German People's Party is the political mouthpiece of big business. To it belong nearly all the industrial magnates of Germany, with Hugo Stinnes at their head until his death. The political platform of the party is not clearly defined, but most of its members are monarchists in principle. The party voted in a body against the republican constitution adopted at the national convention at Weimar. Stresemann and his party, however, are now just as much opposed to counter-revolution as they were opposed to the 1918 revolution. For this reason they are willing to be at peace with the existing government, so long as it preserves order and freedom of enterprise. It is natural that this party of industrialists is in direct opposition to the labor party—the social democracy. Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1923 representatives of the Social Democratic Party entered for a brief period into a cabinet headed by Stresemann. By its program and the character of its leader the German People's Party is the party of practical politics (*Real-politik*); it is guided not by ideas but by interests.

The Center, or Catholics

In the center of the German parliament is the party which is appropriately named the Center. It is central, however, only topographically; politically, it is not in the center of the other parties, but entirely apart from them. The characteristic feature of the Center Party is that its members are brought together on the basis of religion and not on the basis of their political or

social position. It is the party of the German Catholics. Its principal constituents are the peasants and artisans of southern Germany, but also working people belonging to the so-called Christian trade unions and some industrial and agrarian groups. The unifying element in this party is the members' adherence to the Catholic faith and what they call their Christian viewpoint. The party of the Center was originally organized as a defensive measure against the aggressive anti-clerical policy of Bismarck (the so-called *Kulturkampf*). In this fight the Center won a victory over the Iron Chancellor. Since that time the Center, owing to the large number of its adherents and to the skillful maneuvering of its leaders, has continued to play an important rôle in the political life of Germany. After the revolution the Center decisively supported the new régime. At Weimar it cooperated with the Democrats and the Social Democrats in working out and adopting the present constitution. These three parties formed the coalition represented in the first republican cabinet.

The importance of the Center in the political life of new Germany may be judged by the fact that not a single ministry since 1919 has failed to have a representative of the Center. Three deputies belonging to the Center—Fehrenbach, Wirth, and Marx—have served as Chancellor.

The Intellectual Democratic Party

The real center—not topographically, but as a matter of program—is occupied in the Reichstag by the Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*). In it are combined all the non-socialistic elements, which even in the time of William II were constantly in opposition to the government. During the later years preceding the revolution this party was called Progressive. Before that it was called a free-thinking party. It never has been strong numerically, but its importance always has been and continues to be in the fact that it represents the political views of German intellectuals: professors, literary men, followers of the liberal professions. The best and most serious German papers, such as the *Tageblatt*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, are supporters of the Democratic Party. At the present time this party has no outstanding political leaders and this prevents it from occupying in parliamentary coalitions a place consistent

with its cultural and moral weight. But this party has the proud distinction of having counted among its members the most brilliant star that has appeared on the horizon of new Germany, Walter Rathenau.

In the epoch of Kaiser William the liberal opposition fought for a parliamentary régime, for the abolition of the privileges of the nobility, and for a democratization of the government. All these principles have been carried through by the revolution. It is natural, therefore, that the Democratic Party, though it had taken no direct part in the revolution of November 9, 1918, immediately joined the new government. A Democratic deputy, Conrad Haussmann, was in fact the chairman of the committee of the national convention which worked out the text of the republican constitution. At present the Democrats are usually represented in governmental coalitions.

Social Democrats of the Left

At the left wing of the Reichstag is seen the United Social Democratic Party (*Vereinigte Sozial-demokratische Partei Deutschlands*). This party has a long and distinguished history. In the 60's of the nineteenth century, owing to the fiery agitation of Ferdinand Lassalle, there was created in Germany an important political organization with a wide following among the working masses which adhered to socialistic ideals. After Lassalle's untimely death, the German labor party came under the flag of the scientific socialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. During the first years of the empire the Bismarck government took a sharply hostile attitude toward social democracy. The notorious law on socialists of 1879 made this party illegal and subject to prosecution as a revolutionary organization. But prosecution only increased its strength and surrounded its new leaders, Bebel and Liebknecht, with the halo of martyrdom. The popularity of the party among the working masses grew apace.

The war created a dangerous split in the well-disciplined ranks of this party. The majority accepted the necessity of discontinuing during the war the sharp opposition to the government, while the minority, as soon as it had recovered from the patriotic fervor of the first days of the war, returned to its earlier irreconcilable position. This left minority became separated from the party under the title "Independent Social

Democratic Party" with Hasse, Breitscheid, Dittmann and Ledebur at its head. Representatives of the independents, which had joined the Council of People's Representatives, soon left that council. During the rest of the revolutionary period constant dissensions between the two wings of social democracy continued. This struggle considerably weakened the position of the socialists in the country. It deprived them of an absolute majority in the national convention. Party unity was not reestablished until 1922, when the independents returned into the fold. There remained outside of the reunited party a small group of followers of Ledebur, which has two representatives in the Reichstag.

It was German Social Democracy, and particularly the majority faction, which carried through the revolution of 1918. Owing to that party the revolution was practically bloodless and resulted in the establishment of a democratic government, avoiding the dangers of anarchy and of dictatorship, either of the left or of the right. The leaders of the revolution were the socialists Ebert and Scheidemann. The former is still the chief executive of the republic and has won by his ability, tact, and modesty the sympathies of wide non-socialist groups. It is from the ranks of the socialists that came the first three republican chancellors, Scheidemann, Bauer, and Muller. During and after the revolution the Social Democracy rose to a statesmanlike understanding of its problems. It did not yield to the temptations of demagoguery when these temptations were greatest and most alluring.

For this very reason the Social Democratic Party has lost the sympathy of

radically inclined labor groups, whose organ is the party of Communists. Under the influence of hard, economic conditions during the last few years this radical group has gained influence over the workingman. This has been reflected in an increased importance of the Communist Party, which is in close contact with the Moscow international and the government of Soviet Russia. Between these two socialistic parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists, there now wages a desperate struggle for the soul of the workman.

Last Month's Election

Such is the political aspect of the five main parties in the Reichstag. Since the present Reichstag was elected in 1920, under entirely different domestic and foreign conditions, it has seemed possible, indeed probable, that the general election held in May would result in a considerable shifting of the strength of the different parties. No regrouping of the parties, however, had been anticipated.

[POSTSCRIPT, BY THE EDITOR]

The German elections for the Reichstag were held on Sunday, May 4. The coalition forming the government of Chancellor Marx—Centrist, German People's, and Democratic parties, with the backing of the Socialists—retains a small majority in the parliament. A notable result of the election was the gain in Communist strength (from 15 to 62), at the expense of the Socialists. The Nationalist group also becomes more important, with 96 members. The new Reichstag was scheduled to assemble on May 22.

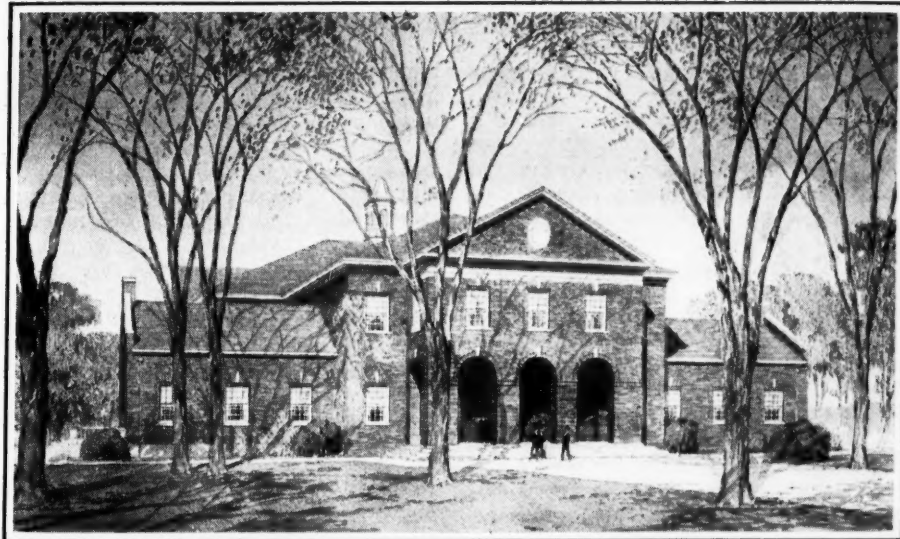
<i>Year of Election</i>	<i>Conservatives (Since 1919 German National Party)</i>	<i>National Liberals (Since 1919 German People's Party)</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Progressives (Since 1919 German Democratic Party)</i>	<i>Social Democrats</i>
1898	92	47	135	50	56
1903	83	50	131	36	81
1907	113	54	125	49	43
1912	69	43	123	42	110
1919 (1)	42	22	89	74	185 (2)
1920 (3)	67	66	68	39	173
1924 (4)	96	44	62	25	100

(1) National convention.

(2) Majority party, 163; independents, 22.

(3) In addition to the parties shown in the table, there are at present in the Reichstag the following minor groups: the Bavarian National Party, 20; Bavarian peasant party, 2; Welfs, 2; Ledebur, 2, and Communists, 15. The composition of the last Reichstag is shown as it was in 1924 rather than at the time of the election.

(4) Unofficial. In addition to the parties shown, the Communists hold 62 seats and the Bavarian People's Party 16.



THE PROPOSED PHI BETA KAPPA MEMORIAL BUILDING, TO BE ERECTED AT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA

(Where the society was founded, in 1776)

THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY AS A WORLD-FORCE

BY CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING

(President of the United Chapters, and President Emeritus of Western Reserve University)

THE Phi Beta Kappa is a society of graduates and students of American colleges. It was founded in the second oldest American college, William and Mary, in the historic and pregnant year of 1776. It was and is primarily a society of scholars. It has grown from the single parent-seed to ninety-nine chapters, installed in as many colleges, embracing in its history fifty-five thousand members, and, at the present moment, numbering no less than forty thousand. Membership is based, for the undergraduate, Senior or Junior, upon scholarship. Such a standard represents the larger share of its members. But honorary members, chosen from the list of former graduates, are also included. The election of members is made by the individual chapter of the individual college. Only the highest-ranking scholars are eligible.

The Phi Beta Kappa is the oldest of the Greek-letter societies. One hundred and ten years from the foundation of Phi Beta Kappa was organized the Sigma Xi, a

fraternity standing especially for the scientific side of scholarship. These two societies are recognized as the most important organizations of their type in America, and, some would add, in the world.

The place of the Society has recently been enlarged, and its power notably increased. This advancement is due to at least four causes, the first being the granting of a charter by the Regents of the State of New York to five of the Phi Beta Kappa Senators, John H. Finley, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Darwin P. Kingsley, Albert Shaw, and Talcott Williams, acting in behalf of their fellow members. This charter (a provisional one) gives to the Society certain rights, especially for holding property, the lack of which has, for a long time, been felt. Such a charter represents permanence, uniting the interests of members, giving definiteness to its purposes, and adding to its forcefulness.

Another cause of the advancement is found in the raising of an endowment fund

for building a memorial to its fifty great founders. This memorial is to be put at the birthplace of the Society on the campus of William and Mary College. Among the founders were some of the most influential patriots of the Revolutionary period. This memorial takes the form of a building which will have a replica of the Apollo Hall in the old Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg where the first members held their meetings. It will also contain other rooms for the use of the College. The accompanying illustration indicates how well the architect has caught the colonial academic spirit, and has set it forth in window and wall (brick), in doorway and roof. It is also hoped that the present campaign will succeed in raising, in addition to the sum required—perhaps one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars—for the memorial, a larger sum of which the income shall aid in carrying on the great work of the United Chapters.

The third cause of the notable progress lies in the near approach of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation. Phi Beta Kappa takes its place as the earliest institution of its character in America, and also one of the earliest of all institutions of a literary character. For only nine colleges had been established in America at the outbreak of the Revolution. They might be called the nine muses of our colonial history. Already the sesquicentennial anniversary is giving influence and impulse to the service of Phi Beta Kappa in every chapter.

Forty Thousand Living Members

The fourth cause, adding emphasis to the place of the Society, is found in the fact that a catalogue of the members of Phi Beta Kappa, from its origin, has just been published. It is a monumental volume of more than fourteen hundred pages. The reading of its columns suggests and helps to prove, in this crisis of the nations, that this society of scholars is one of the great forces in bearing to and sustaining America's power and prestige in the whole world.

For, of the present membership, the

number, more than forty thousand, now living and working in all parts of the world is significant and impressive. Of all the countries, that one which has the largest population, China, claims also the largest number of Phi Beta Kappa representatives, two hundred and fifty. Of this number, the cities of Peking and Shanghai contain almost one-half. In Japan are found eighty-two, in India seventy-five, in South America fifty, and in Africa twenty. England has one hundred, of whom London and Oxford enroll about one-half. France claims fifty, more than one-half of whom are found in Paris. Italy has a score, about fifteen

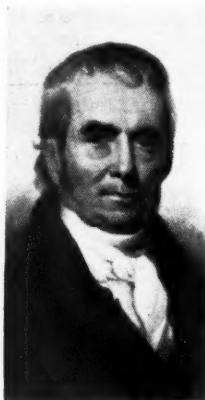
of whom live in Rome; Germany, however, has only fifteen. The results of the war are most plainly and painfully manifest in the decimation of American students in German universities. The results of successive wars are likewise manifest in Turkey which has only fourteen, all of whom are found in Constantinople. Our neighbor to the south, Mexico, has twenty-one, and the neighboring states, immediately to the south, a considerably smaller number.

In all these countries the fraternity is widely scattered, and into the remotest districts. In Africa, for instance, the Kenya Colony, Belgian Congo, Angola, and Nigeria, enroll members. In every province unto the Western border, and in every

large city, of China as well, are found members, from Canton to Peking, from Hankow to Foo-chow. Java, Siam, the Straits Settlements, the Dutch East Indies, Australia, and even far-off and lonely Guam are represented.

Men and Women Serving Abroad

Of all the membership dwelling in foreign parts, about one-third are women. The larger share of the women are either engaged in teaching or as heads of homes. It is certainly to be desired that any man, going to foreign parts, should go accompanied by his wife. In most foreign parts, moreover, far above the condition obtaining at home, the wife and the mother finds a great share of her service outside the domestic doorway. The larger proportion of the men, be it at once said, are engaged in



JOHN MARSHALL

(A member of the original Phi Beta Kappa Society; later Chief Justice of the United States)

either educational or Christian mission work. These two forms of service are however largely, though not entirely, united. For mission service tends to become educational. Christian missions have distinctly lessened the emphasis they formerly put upon purely evangelistic service, and are becoming more educational. For it is recognized that "conversion" represents a change of character which constantly needs the sustaining power of educational forces. These schools and colleges, thus established, are usually of American origin and maintenance. Other schools in which are engaged Phi Beta Kappa members are government schools of their respective commonwealths. They consist of all grades, primary, secondary, collegiate, and professional. The professional type represents usually either the theological or the medical. The colleges, in certain countries, are for both men and women. The institutions for women alone, however, are becoming the more common. The Constantinople College for Women, the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow, and Kobe College in Japan, are representative.

In Education

The colleges and schools in which Phi Beta Kappa men and women are teaching is a list of much impressiveness. Among those of India are the Women's Christian College of Madras, the Baptist Theological Seminary of Insein of Burma, the Judson College at Rangoon, the Forman Christian College at Lahore, the Ewing College at Allahabad, and the Reid College at Lucknow. In China is found a list, if possible, yet more impressive—in Canton, the Christian College, having no less than ten Phi Beta Kappa members on its faculty; in Changsha, the College of Yale in China; in Chengtu, the China Union University, having four Phi Beta Kappa members on its faculty; in Chungking, the Syracuse in China University; in Foochow, the Anglo-Chinese College; in Nanking, the University of Nanking, with allied institutions; in Shanghai, the Baptist College, the Shanghai College, the Union Women's Medical College, St. John's University; and in Peking, the North China Language School, the Tsing Hua College, the Union Medical School; Yenching Women's College and several affiliated schools and academies are in no small degree Phi Beta Kappa foundations.



REV. OSCAR M. VOORHEES, SECRETARY OF
THE UNITED CHAPTERS OF PHI BETA
KAPPA

(Dr. Voorhees is a graduate of Rutgers College, class of 1888, and of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church. Since 1901 he has held the office of Secretary of the United Chapters, with headquarters at New York, and in recent years has in addition edited the *Phi Beta Kappa Key*.)

In Business Life

The Phi Beta Kappa men who are engaged in business, and not a few are thus employed, are found largely in banking or in the service of the Standard Oil Company. This company has in no small degree built its foreign staff from graduates of the colleges. Selecting Seniors almost as soon as they graduate, and in some cases before graduation, the company has given them a special training for their work, sending them forth to all parts of the world. In the diplomatic and consular service are found many representatives, too, among whom Schurman of Cornell, in Peking, and Collier of George Washington University, in Santiago, are outstanding in diplomatic service, as they were outstanding in college presidencies. It may be added that Lord Balfour, at the time of his visit to America in 1917, as the head of a British Commission, was made a member of Phi Beta Kappa, being credited to the oldest chapter, of William and Mary.

Giving of America's Best to the World

This survey of world conditions permits several inferences.

First: Evidence is thus given of the value of scholarship and of scholars in unifying the peoples and the manifold and diverse forces of the whole world. These forces belong, in part, to theories, beliefs, policies, covenants, and treaties, formal and informal. Such arrangements have their worth, and great worth. They represent both conditions and forces, but perhaps conditions more than forces. But a greater worth lies in the personality of the men themselves who hold theories, beliefs, policies, and who execute covenants and treaties. These men, scattered over the world from Guam to Cape Town, from Tokio to Santiago, represent powers, vigilant and valiant, for making the world one. The Phi Beta Kappa grip, a salutation not at all obscure, is a sign of the uniting of these men as world-forces. The "key" opens the door to international friendships. Philosophy, as the guide of life, incarnated, with a greater or less meaning, in their own character, is a basis of the comprehensive unit, union, and uniting, of civilization. The three stars in the medal stand for Fraternity, Morality, and Literature, and this trinity of forces helps to join the world into oneness.

Second: It is perhaps not wholly unbecoming for an officer of the Phi Beta Kappa to say that the Society thus represents, through its membership, an offering which the United States makes for the enrichment of civilization. The offering is essentially a contribution of the American college and university. For the Society is a creation of the higher education. Phi Beta Kappa is a gift through, and of, and by, the higher education of America for the world's betterment. Let fullest appreciation be placed upon all the elements which America gives to the world, industrial, commercial, religious. But it is safe to say that the higher education is among the most precious of all contributions. The Phi Beta Kappa men and women, graduates of American colleges, now serving in colleges over the world, are giving the best of America to the world.

Third: It may be fitting also to say that these Phi Beta Kappa members are bearing the English language to those who speak other tongues. Of course, this is an offering which belongs to all Americans and Englishmen to make. Such a contribution, how-

ever, one likes to think, has a peculiarly comprehensive value. For there is no language among men that includes so many and diverse origins as the English. A glance through any column of any dictionary proves that the Greek has given to the English of both its classical and scientific terms, the Latin of its direct and simple speech, the French (a sort of modern Latin), the Italian, the German, the Scandinavian tongues, of their historic, virile forms. A language, thus constituted and sustained, is best fitted to carry civilization to all the diverse peoples of the world. It is especially winged for a happy flight when presented by students and scholars and teachers.

Fourth: Another inference, based on this survey, relates to the reflex value to the United States of the spreading abroad of Phi Beta Kappa membership. For America is local in time and space. It is remote from the Gulf Stream of history. Four centuries are not the forty of the Egyptian Pyramids. The Western Continent is a great island, floating alone, divided by the oceans from other lands. America's hundred and more millions are only one-sixteenth of the world's peoples. America's past may be said to lie in her future. She has still to do and to achieve. So far, her past glory has been "the glory of the imperfect." For these very reasons, one exults in American men and women dwelling for a time under the old civilizations, bearing back to America the forces and elements of their age-long achievements. America's civilizing imports should correspond well to her civilizing exports.

Promoting World Peace

Fifth: A further inference may possibly be made in reference to the value of the membership of the Phi Beta Kappa in maintaining the peace of the world. I remember a talk which I once had with a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Viscount Kaneko of Tokyo, in reference to the relations of Japan to the United States. He said that the graduates of the universities of Japan and the graduates of American colleges, living in Japan, could, and should, have great influence in maintaining peace between the two countries. If the scholars of the two nations, in case of a crisis, were to unite in public action, particularly against war, war would probably be averted. "But," he added, "it might happen that before the voice of the scholars could be

heard, the influence of a part of the people, inflamed by noisy, irresponsible newspapers, might become so strong and so virulent, that a government would be almost forced to fight." Under such impulses either resignation or a declaration of war would become necessary. Such an influence was felt in America in the spring of 1898. The still small voice of the thinking people was not heard. In fact, hardly an opportunity was allowed, or desired, by many for its hearing. Alas! such interna-

tional crises are not, to-day, remote from our thoughts or our fears. But it is clear that, in such emergencies, Phi Beta Kappa members throughout the world doing all they can to make the motto of their Society the standard for interpretations by emperors, the principles of action by presidents, and the basis for discussion and decision by cabinets, the direst evils might be averted. Phi Beta Kappa members should, above other selected groups, make rich offerings for the world's peace.



THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, AS IT WAS WHEN THE PARENT CHAPTER OF PHI BETA KAPPA WAS ORGANIZED THERE IN 1776

CANADA PAYING HER WAY

BY H. B. MCKINNON

CANADA again is paying her way. Again she is approaching in her national financing the more or less care-free conditions of pre-war days. The disastrous decade that began with March 31, 1914 (the first fiscal year to be affected by war expenditures), has ended, and the Dominion has signalized its passing into history by establishing, for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1924, her first credit balance since war's bugles were blown.

In tabling his Budget in the Canadian Parliament on April 11, Hon. James Robb, acting Minister of Finance, presented real evidence of national recuperation. He was able to record for the year then closing a surplus of Ordinary revenue, over Ordinary, Capital and Special expenditures, of \$20,-786,349. This, taken with a further sum of \$9,662,760—representing cancellation of

small outstanding accounts and sums received in acknowledgment of inter-Empire book-debts—enabled him to show a total reduction in the net National Debt of \$30,409,109. In the previous year, the public indebtedness had been increased by—strangely enough—practically the same total. The Minister omitted from the debit side of his Budget a government-guaranteed bond issue of February last, on account of the Canadian National Railways, this being regarded as an indirect obligation, and not as an actual or direct debt.

Having cut his indebtedness of the past, Mr. Robb turned to the future. For the ensuing fiscal year, he promised a net relief in the tax load pressing upon the consuming public of \$24,000,000—this to be achieved by a fairly-horizontal reduction of the customs tariff; a flat reduction, plus several

specific lowerings, of the Sales Tax, and a generous addition to the exemptions list under that same war-born impost. Amendments to the Budget will provide for material lessening of the incidence of the Income Tax in the case of the heads of households.

The announcement of a reduced Sales Tax—from 6 to 5 per cent.—has been gratefully accepted throughout Canada by manufacturers, wholesalers, merchants and the general buying public—all of whom had come to view its operation as in restraint of trade. Specific reductions of 50 per cent. in the Sales Tax on boots, shoes, rubber footwear, biscuits and canned goods; complete removal of the tax in the case of agricultural implements and mining, lumbering and fishing machinery, as well as on binder-twine, milk-foods and bread-stuffs; numerous important additions to the lengthy exemptions list—these are changes whose effect will be less general; but, nevertheless, much appreciated by the particular occupational classes which they touch.

The rub comes in the changes in the customs tariff. These comprise cuts ranging from one-half to one-third of the present rates, general and preferential, in the case of agricultural, dairying and fruit-growing implements and the machinery used in the industries of mining and lumbering. By way of specific compensation, the Canadian manufacturers of all agricultural implements affected by the changes are to receive "free entry" on materials used by them in their processes, whether these materials are now on hand or yet to be imported.

This Budget creates the issue for the next Federal election. It divides political Canada into two fiscal camps, low-tariff and protectionist. In the former are all the western Progressives and nine-tenths of the historic Liberal party; in the latter, the entire Conservative party and those Liberals who depend for election upon the franchises of highly-industrialized and urban areas. Already, there are "warnings" that the grass will grow in the streets of now busy towns; and implement manufacturers are predicting ruin for their industries at the hands of their powerful United States competitors. By a section of the Press, the government

of the day is being charged with "selling out" to the Progressive wing of Parliament.

Canadian national financing experienced an extraordinary metamorphosis during the war decade. In 1914, the total revenue was \$163,174,395, or \$21.00 per capita; in 1924, this had become \$396,000,000, or some \$44.00 per capita. Total expenditures, in 1914, of \$127,384,473 (\$16.50 per capita) swelled to \$375,213,651, or approximately \$42.00 per capita, in 1924. The outbreak of war found Canada with a net National Debt of \$335,996,850; the close of the war decade finds that grown to \$2,423,367,762—or a per capita increase in ten years from some \$40 to some \$270. †

This huge increase in debt of more than two billion dollars, being the incubus of war expenditure, carries no corresponding assets. Fortunately, it differs from its pre-war equivalent in that it is held mainly at home. Canadians themselves draw the chief portion of an annual interest payment that is greater than the entire national expenditure in the year immediately preceding the war. A summary of the domestic loans since 1914 (all over-subscribed) follows:

November, 1915.....	\$100,000,000
September, 1916.....	\$100,000,000
March, 1917.....	\$150,000,000
November, 1917.....	\$150,000,000
November, 1918.....	\$300,000,000
November, 1919.....	\$300,000,000

At the end of the fiscal year just closed, the net funded debt of Canada was payable as follows: London, \$336,001,469; in New York, \$210,932,000; in Canada itself, \$1,935,586,209.

Inordinate expenditures during the war decade meant that extraordinary sources of revenue had to be tapped. These took the form of such special taxes as those on bank circulation, insurance, telegrams, cheques and letters; a Business Profits Tax, adopted in 1915; an Income Tax, in 1917; a Sales Tax, in 1920. These special imposts turned topsy-turvy all revenue tables. In 1921, Customs duties were for the first time displaced as the chief source of revenue, yielding only \$163,266,000, as against \$168,385,000 from war taxes. Returns for 1924-25 should show a big decrease in special taxation, due, in large measure, to the Sales Tax reductions under the Robb Budget.



HON. JAMES A. ROBB

(Acting Minister of Finance in the Dominion of Canada)



BUILDING OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AT WASHINGTON

(The Institution was founded by James Smithson, an Englishman who died in 1829 and bequeathed his fortune to United States of America "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The following article outlines some of the activities that have resulted from Smithson's bequest)

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AT WORK

BY C. G. ABBOT, D.Sc.

(Assistant Secretary)

EACH year the summer time sees the Smithsonian Institution of Washington sending its expeditions into the field. Secretary and Mrs. Walcott push their way well into the Canadian Rockies, among their boldest crags and glaciers. In this wilderness of rock and ice, interspersed by lovely streams and lakes, fringed with evergreens, they pitch their tent. Here Dr. Walcott continues his far-famed investigations of the earliest fossils. Year by year he brings to light new evidences of the life of the Cambrian and Pre-Cambrian geologic periods. Formerly it was supposed that these were the dawning periods of life, and, as such, must present only the simplest of life-forms, hardly worthy to be compared with those which fill the world to-day. Dr. Walcott's work is changing this viewpoint, for he has found in the most perfect fossil preservation marine life that shows great complexities of the organisms. Some of these ancient forms differ little more from present-day creatures of similar types, than do the species of today one from another. So we must look still further than the Cambrian for the begin-

nings of life. This pushes the age of the habitable world upward, quite in step with the recent discoveries in the physics of the radio-active elements, which tell us that for a billion years, at least, the earth has been full grown.

Mrs. Walcott, besides assisting Dr. Walcott in his geology and camping, collects specimens of the flowers of the region. With fidelity to form and hue, she paints them in water-color to add to her already large collection of paintings of the flora of the United States. At present she is endeavoring to arrange through subscriptions, by interested nature-lovers, for the faithful reproduction of a series of these sketches in book-form. In this undertaking she is seconded by the approval and recommendations of distinguished botanists, who see in the accuracy and beauty of her work a valuable contribution to popular knowledge of America's flowers.

Meanwhile Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, veteran enthusiast that he is, the Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, goes down to the Southwest, to Colorado or New

Mexico, to continue there his work in excavating and preserving the relics of the times of the Cliff-dwellers. Many people think of the old Indians as mere wandering hunters and fighting men, living in wigwams. There were, however, Indians and Indians. Some still are, like their ancestors, peaceable farmers and village-dwellers. Such tribes made great progress in the arts of textile-weaving, working of metals, and in architecture, and they conceived beautiful imaginative tales and ceremonies connected with a mystical religion.

Every year Dr. Fewkes and his colleagues uncover and prepare for view and preservation some of the buried ruins of this Indian civilization. They are almost as interesting and remarkable as the ruins of the Orient. The arrangement of the ancient Indian's buildings for domestic, social, and religious purposes, their utensils, their ways of burying the dead, attract year by year growing thousands of visitors who make journeys to the principal places thus far recovered to view in Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

But the Smithsonian ethnological work is by no means confined to the Southwest, or

to excavations. Other Indian mounds in Florida and the Middle Western States are being opened. Indian languages are being saved from oblivion. Records are being made of Indian music, some of which, already well known, is being used as thematic material by modern composers. Similarly the symbolic patterns of Indian origin are being utilized for designs in modern textile industry.

Relations with the Government

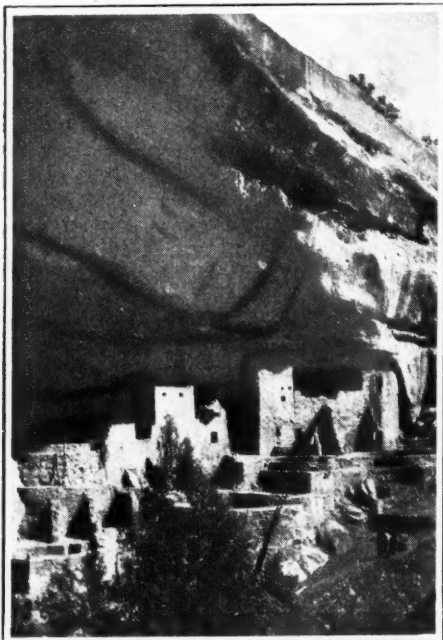
"But," says one, "this is Government work, not Smithsonian." "Oh, yes," says another, "the Smithsonian is just a Government Bureau, well supported by Government money." In fact few people understand exactly what the Smithsonian is and how it connects with the Government.

On August 10, 1846, President Polk signed the bill which established the Smithsonian Institution. It passed Congress in pursuance of a clause of the will of James Smithson, an Englishman of noble family and broad culture, who bequeathed his fortune of \$550,000 "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

By act of Congress this endowment together with such additions as may be made up to the sum of \$1,000,000, is deposited in the United States Treasury, bearing interest at 6 per cent. Under careful management and by the aid of several gifts of subsequent donors received from time to time, the Smithsonian endowment has now reached the amount of approximately \$1,200,000, and the yearly income approximately \$70,000.

In these days of large things these figures seem small, and they *are* small to represent the endowment and income of the National Research Institution. Compare them, for instance, with the corresponding figures for the Carnegie Institution: endowment \$27,000,000, and yearly income \$1,400,000, approximately. It is because the Congress entrusts to the Smithsonian several large Government bureaus that its activities appear so great. While this is appropriate historically, in view of the origin of these bureaus, and is natural in view of their research tendencies, it requires much attention on the part of the staff.

The governing body of the Smithsonian Institution is a very strong one. Compara-



CLIFF PALACE IN MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK, COLORADO

(Excavated and repaired by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution)

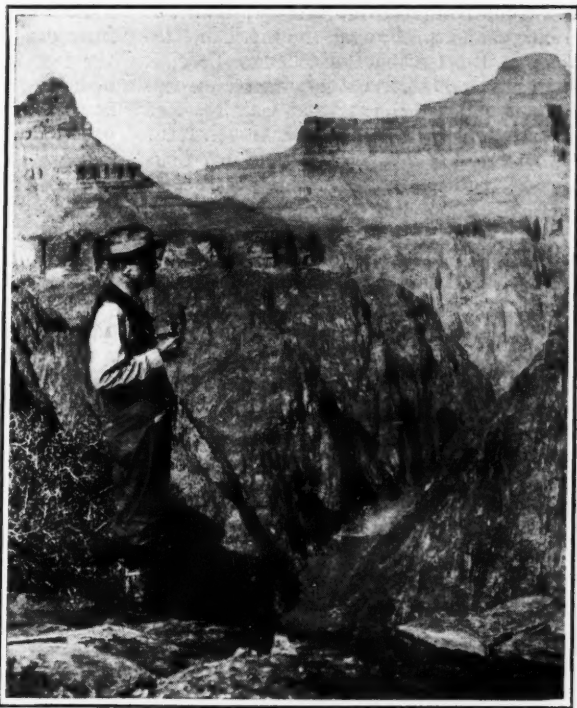
ble in that respect with Congress, it has two bodies: The Establishment, whose duty is the "supervision of the affairs of the Institution and the advice and instruction of the Board of Regents," comprises the President, the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and members of the Cabinet of the United States. In practice this body seldom occupies itself with Smithsonian affairs, but like the king in chess, it proves a powerful resource in an emergency.

The Board of Regents, which is the active supervisory organization, comprises two members of the Establishment, the Vice-President and the Chief Justice, ex-officio. In addition are three Senators, three Representatives, and six citizens, "no two of whom shall be from the same State," though two must be residents of the City of Washington.

The executive officer is the Secretary, who is elected by the Board of Regents, and reports to it annually. In most matters he has wide discretion, but consults frequently with the executive committee of the Board of Regents, and on sufficient occasion with the full Board.

Distinguished Personnel

So the Smithsonian Institution, conceived by the private initiative of a foreigner, and repeatedly the recipient of bequests and gifts from private individuals, is watched over by highly responsible members of the Government. Yet it is not like an ordinary Government Bureau, subject to political ebb and flow, and the scramble for appointments. Its first Secretary, the distinguished physicist, Professor Joseph Henry, served over thirty years until his death in 1878. He formed the policy of the Smithsonian, established the international exchanges of scientific literature, and laid the foundations of the Weather Service. Henry showed keen insight when he selected as his colleague and Assistant Secretary, in the year 1850, the indefatigable naturalist, Spencer Fullerton Baird. Baird succeeded



SECRETARY CHARLES D. WALCOTT, OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, ON FIELD WORK IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES

as Secretary in 1878, but died in 1887, a martyr to his scientific enthusiasm. Under his administration the National Museum and Fish Commission were established. After him came Samuel Pierpont Langley, a distinguished pioneer of the "New Astronomy," that child of the spectroscope, and the renowned student and experimenter in mechanical flight. His tenure as Secretary continued till his death in 1906. In 1907 there succeeded the present eminent Secretary, Charles Doolittle Walcott.

Among the great men who, outside of the Government, have served as Regents are, Louis Agassiz, Alexander Dallas Bache, George Bancroft, Rufus Choate, Asa Gray, William Tecumseh Sherman, Alexander Graham Bell.

With such continuity of able, disinterested control, and eminent executives, the history of the Smithsonian has been well-deserving of the pride of Americans in their national research organization. Congress too, has shown its confidence in the Institution by entrusting to its administration for many years the United States National

Museum, National Art Gallery, National Zoological Park, Bureau of American Ethnology, International Exchange Service, Astrophysical Observatory, and Regional Bureau of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. These Government bureaus are annually supported by Congressional appropriations, amounting altogether to about \$700,000, all disbursed under the care of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Besides all these Government bureaus, the late Charles L. Freer, who gave to the United States his whole collection of rare Oriental and American art objects, and erected a beautiful building for their preservation and display, placed the Freer Gallery under the charge of the Smithsonian Institution and bequeathed to it the residue of his large estate, amounting to nearly \$3,000,000, for the support of the Gallery and the promotion of collections and researches in Oriental art. The Freer Gallery opened in 1923.

It is but natural that the Government bureaus above named should remain attached to the Smithsonian. All of them, and not only these but the Weather Bureau, the Fish Commission and the Geological Survey, received their initial impetus from the activities carried on by the private funds of the Smithsonian, and were helped to their present organization by the counsel or acts of administration of its Secretaries.

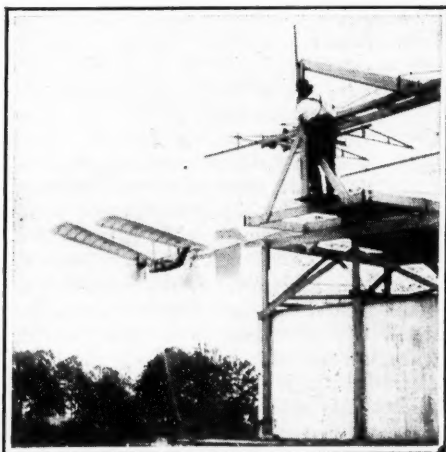
A moving spirit in enterprises of learning, Henry was the successor of Bache as President of the National Academy of Sciences, and served for ten years until his death in 1878. Secretary Walcott, also, was president of the National Academy of Sciences for many years. During several years of his presidency, from 1918 to 1923, the home secretary and assistant secretary of the Academy were also members of the staff of the Smithsonian Institution. Ever since its organization, in fact, the National Academy of Sciences has owed much to the coöperation of the Smithsonian for its meeting-place, for the storage of its property, and for services of many kinds. Also the American Association for the Advancement of Science has occupied rooms at the Smithsonian Institution for many years. These services to scientific organizations are but types of the quiet but efficient work the Smithsonian has done since its organization to promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge.

But we have wandered too long away from our story of present-day activities of the Institution. Let us follow another expedition into the field, this time an astronomical one, studying the sun's heat on a 9000-foot peak in the nitrate desert of Chile.

Observations of the Sun's Heat

The late Secretary Langley used often to express his belief that the study of the sun's heat, the losses which it suffers in passing through our atmosphere, the variations which it may be subject to, would at length serve to forecast the changes of weather and climate which are so important for the agriculturist, and man of affairs. He used to speak of Joseph's seven years of plenty and seven years of famine, in this connection, and of the possibility that in the future the student of the sun might be in a position to emulate that ancient prophet.

Langley's dream received some support when the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory discovered the substantial variability of the sun and confirmed this discovery by its expeditions to Africa in 1911 and 1912. The influence of the solar variation on the weather was studied almost immediately by Mr. Clayton, at that time chief forecaster of the Argentine Meteorological Service. He seemed to find that the sun's variations produce notable influence on the weather conditions of Argentina, and, in-



FLIGHT OF THE STEAM-DRIVEN MODEL OF LANGLEY'S AIRPLANE AT QUANTICO, POTO-MAC RIVER, MAY 6, 1896

(This flight was made under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution)

deed, of the rest of the world. The results of these preliminary studies of Mr. Clayton were published in the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Vol. 68, No. 3, and Vol. 71, No. 3).

The subject demanded daily measures of the sun's heat, made in a way to eliminate atmospheric influences. Langley's method demands several hours of cloudless, transparent sky, while the sun is rising from the horizon in the morning, or approaching it toward night. Searching the whole world for the most suitable place, the Smithsonian Institution fixed on the Atacama desert of Chile, and sent two young observers there in 1918, with an outfit of several tons of special apparatus and supplies, to set up a solar station.

This is the region that Darwin describes so vividly in his "Voyage of the Beagle," when he tells of riding all day without seeing a living thing, except a few flies feasting on the dead body of a mule. At the Smithsonian station on Mount Montezuma, twelve miles from the little city of Calama, there is not a bird, beast, insect, creeping thing, cactus, or plant of any kind to be seen. All water and supplies must be brought from town. The wind has blown so many centuries over the bleak mountain that all the loose fine sand is blown away, and though it often roars a gale, no dust is carried by it. Of rainfall there is none. Probably not an inch of snow or rain has fallen on Montezuma in twenty years.

From July 27, 1918, to the present time the Smithsonian observers have made their solar measurements almost daily. Since



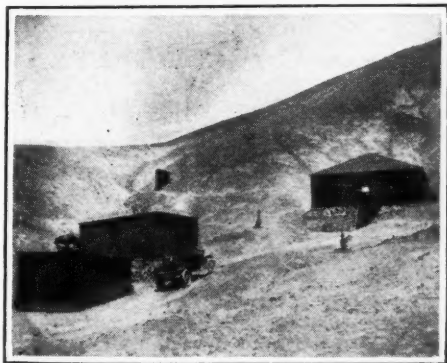
SMITHSONIAN MEN OBSERVING THE SUN'S HEAT
AT MONTEZUMA, CHILE
(Altitude 9500 feet)

October 3, 1920, the results have been supported by those from the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory station on Mount Harqua Hala, Arizona, a place almost as isolated and barren as Montezuma. From one station, or both, comes the report of the state of the sun's heat on about 90 per cent. of all the days of the year.

It is a pity that the work is so young. If the sun's variations had been known since Sir Isaac Newton's time or better still, since that of the pyramid builders, we might now be in position to repeat Joseph's predictions. In Argentina, however, the official Weather Bureau is receiving daily telegrams from the Smithsonian station in Chile, and prepares each week a detailed forecast for a week in advance, based on solar variation. The business firms which subscribe to this unique weather forecast, express themselves as well pleased with it. After a year or two more has elapsed the Smithsonian solar data may well repay the earnest consideration of meteorologists the world over.

Explorations and Collections

In the days of Professor Baird, the trans-continental railroad surveys, the frontier army posts, the great naval expeditions, and all the explorations that attended the opening up of our new continent, poured a wealth of specimens of utmost variety into the Smithsonian Institution's halls. These make up the backbone of the collections of the United States National Museum. Nev-



OBSERVERS' QUARTERS, SMITHSONIAN SOLAR
STATION, MONTEZUMA, CHILE



THE SMITHSONIAN SOLAR STATION ON MOUNT WILSON, CALIFORNIA

ertheless, the material is one-sided. ⁶ The proper study of American zoölogical types requires comparisons with old-world specimens. For many years, by the generosity of a collaborator, the Smithsonian Institution has been gathering collections from Australia, the East and West Indies, the Malay peninsula, and elsewhere. Last summer, in China, its enthusiastic young collector, Mr. Charles M. Hoy, who had distinguished himself in several such expeditions, gave up his life, in sickness, while striving to overcome the difficulties of scientific research in a bandit-infested country, without effective government.

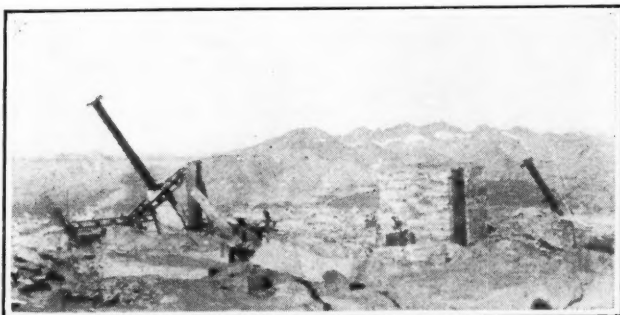
Thus the Smithsonian Institution, as far as its meager resources permit, still continues the field explorations, investigations, and collections, which have so justly made it famous. At home, in Washington, its staff is busy with the effort to make the world's stores of knowledge available to the people. In the words of its founder the mission of the In-

stitution is "The increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

To disclose the secrets of the atom; to show how every material and living thing is composed of but two primeval types, the ultimate grains of positive and negative electricity; to trace the development of forms in crystals and in life; to measure forces and show how they can be put to the advantage of mankind; to aid those who study such things; to give a chance in science to exceptional men and women; all this is to increase knowledge. To publish technically the results of investigations of these high subjects, so that the man of science can exactly know them and use them as stepping stones to further progress; to publish again interestingly, so that the intelligent man of culture, in the restful quiet of his fireside, may glimpse the march of knowledge; to publish again popularly in the public press so that he who runs may read not erroneously of scientific news; to answer mail inquiries of those whose thought or experiences lead them to difficulties they have not the means to solve; to furnish specimens and publications to schools and libraries, where they will be available to the many; to exchange learned publications with institutions in other countries, all this is diffusion of knowledge among men. Such is the Smithsonian program.

Services to the Citizen

During all its history the Smithsonian Institution has been useful. Useful to the common, perplexed citizen. Hundreds of thousands, doubtless millions, of inquiries it has answered with the best knowledge of its staff of specialists, or has referred to other



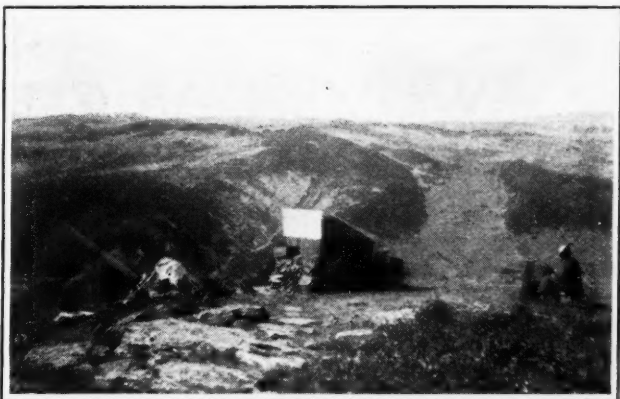
SMITHSONIAN SOLAR EXPERIMENTS ON MOUNT WHITNEY, CALIFORNIA

(Altitude 14,500 feet)

institutions of learning where the special question could be more fully solved. Every day there come many such requests. Some are from the learned, but most come from plain people in perplexity. Very many times a letter, ill-spelled and ungrammatical, will propound a query that takes one to the very bounds of knowledge to find its answer.

Many investigators in all branches of natural sciences have been aided in their work by grants from the slender funds of the Smithsonian. Some of these investigations which it has aided have been classical, like the measurement of the relative atomic weights of oxygen and hydrogen by Morley, the measurement of the standard meter in wave-lengths of light by Michelson, the discovery and study of rays far beyond the violet by Schumann. It is only the lack of funds that prevents a much greater extension of this kind of support of investigation. Among the grants now in being is that which is enabling Dr. R. H. Goddard to continue his promising efforts to perfect a high-flying rocket, suitable to carry up self-recording apparatus to measure the conditions of the upper air.

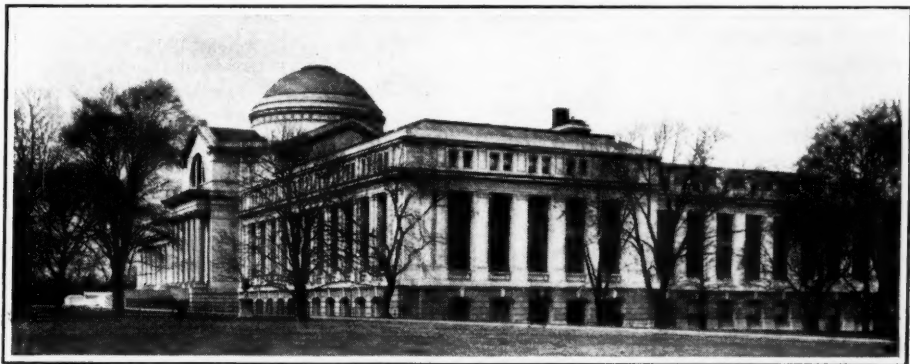
Publications of world-wide fame bear the Smithsonian emblem of the torch. Some are profound treatises, some useful tables, like the series of Tables, including the Physical, the Mathematical, the Metro-



THE SMITHSONIAN SOLAR EXPEDITION OF 1911 IN ALGERIA

logical, the Geographical, and recently the Mathematical Formulæ and Elliptic Functions. The demand for Smithsonian Physical Tables is so active that new revised reprints and editions follow each other almost yearly. But the most in demand of all the publications issued by the Government Printing Office is the Smithsonian Report, which contains each year twenty or thirty articles covering the most important advances in all the natural sciences.

Such is a partial record of Smithsonian activities. If it is a story which citizens of the United States of America can take pride in, there should be those among them who would translate their pride into the generous, untrammelled endowment which would permit the National Research Institution to be more useful in future than even hitherto, and would guarantee it a leading place in extending the bounds of knowledge.



NATURAL HISTORY BUILDING (THE "NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM")

WOMEN AS CITIZENS

BY SARAH SCHUYLER BUTLER

(Chairman of the Republican Women's State
Executive Committee in New York)

THE women voters of the country are facing the first real test of their value as citizens. Public opinion is by no means decided as to whether or not woman suffrage has been of benefit to America; and the number of articles in magazines and newspapers devoted to a discussion of the success or failure of women as voters proves conclusively that the question is arousing wide-spread interest. In the presidential election of 1920 little was expected of the women, for the suffrage amendment had only recently been ratified. But this year the situation is very different. Politicians everywhere are agreed that the women voters may be the deciding factor in the election, and for that reason they are watching them with unusual interest.

Of course we are still new to politics. Four years is a short time in which to educate women in political methods, and to give them an intelligent understanding of the problems of government. With our new opportunities have come new conditions and new responsibilities, and we are only gradually learning to adapt ourselves to them. Those who believed that woman suffrage would bring about the political millennium have been grievously disappointed. On the other hand, those who claimed that women could not and should not take any part in active political work have, in most cases, had to admit that they were mistaken.

Suffrage Is Not a Failure

The truth seems to lie midway between these two extremes. Woman suffrage is certainly not a failure; yet it has not done away with all the faults of politics and of politicians, nor is there any reason why such a result should have been expected. Much has been accomplished in the last four years in teaching women to understand their responsibility as citizens; but there is much work still to be done, and there are many groups of women whom, so far,

the political parties have not been able to reach.

The average woman voter suffers from a handicap which is the natural result of her training. In the days before the granting of the suffrage certain civic problems were set aside as women's province. Education, charity, public health, and various kinds of welfare were generally regarded as subjects in which women should interest themselves, and they were urged to confine their activities to this field. The result was that they grew to regard themselves as the advocates and supporters of special causes, and to think of the broader questions of constitutional government and political policy as matters in which they were not particularly concerned.

A Natural Interest in Welfare Problems

This tendency, which is wide-spread, has been encouraged—often unconsciously—by many women who were formerly ardent suffrage workers. They became so accustomed to working with women and for women, and to taking it for granted that men were opposed to them, that they now find it difficult to bear their share of the equal political partnership for which they fought so long. They may join a political party, but their deepest interest seems to center in organizations composed exclusively of women and dealing primarily with the special causes I have mentioned above.

A prominent member of the Assembly of New York State told me last autumn that in his ten years or more of legislative experience he had never received a communication from women or women's organizations except on bills which could be classified as "welfare legislation." And only last winter when a committee of women proposed to take up the Mellon Tax Reduction Plan as a subject for study and discussion, one of its members vigorously protested on the ground that "all the men's organizations are supporting that, so there is no necessity for women to do so."

The Intolerant Woman in Politics

This deep interest of many women in special causes often leads to the most bitter intolerance on their part. They are very apt to judge a candidate's fitness for office by his attitude towards some one question in which they are interested. So we have the distressing spectacle of women in both great parties actively opposing candidates for office whose record is excellent, and whom they criticize only because they refused to vote for woman suffrage five years ago. The same type of woman frequently threatens to leave, and sometimes does leave, a political party because of its failure to pass or to defeat a particular bill. One might just as well propose to give up church membership because one does not approve of some statement made by the minister in the course of his sermon.

This same feminist point of view is manifested in another way. There is a continual demand from certain groups of women for women candidates—a demand too often based, not on any peculiar qualifications for the office under discussion, but simply on the fact that "the women should be represented." And here we are faced by a serious problem, which lies at the base of the whole question of woman suffrage. Are women going to continue to lay emphasis on their sex? Is there to be a woman's vote? Are we to have women's bills, women's causes, and women's representatives? Or are the women voters of the country going to regard themselves as citizens, bearing their share of political responsibility, doing their share of political work, and receiving their share of political honors and political representation because they have deserved and earned them, rather than merely because they are women?

No Reason for a Woman's Vote

The idea that there is and should be a "woman's vote" is fostered by many women, and by some politicians; but it is difficult to see how such a thing could exist under our social system. In America the family is fortunately still the unit of society. Since this is so, it is presumably true that the members of a given family have more or less common interests and common beliefs. It is a natural result, therefore, that a woman's vote, like a man's, should be determined partly by her training and traditions and partly by her interests

and her environment. Since all women have neither the same training and traditions, nor the same interests and environment, it would seem unreasonable and undesirable for them to vote as a unit. If they are intelligent, their point of view will vary; and the particular problems of government which affect them most will differ, according to the part of the country in which they live or the type of work in which they or their families are engaged.

It is undoubtedly for this reason that the majority of women vote as the men members of their families vote. It is also true that in the majority of cases where there are two or more men in a family they vote alike. And one condition is just as natural and just as desirable as the other. There is no more reason why there should be a woman's vote than why there should be a man's vote. And there is none. For, although there are millions of women voters in America, so far they have shown no tendency to vote as a unit.

As a matter of fact, if women ever do vote as a unit our whole system of government will be automatically overthrown. We live under the two-party system—the only system which provides for a definite shouldering of public responsibility. Our division into political parties has been based on a difference of opinion as to certain fundamental principles of government, and each of the two great parties counts among its members men and women of every shade of opinion and of every rank in society. The fact that our political parties divide our population vertically, and that each one of them is a fair cross-section of the American people, has been one of our greatest blessings. We are fortunate enough to have escaped political division by classes. Let us hope that we may also be fortunate enough to escape political division by sex.

Breaking Down Old Prejudices

In the last four years much progress has been made. In the early days of their enfranchisement the women were mainly concerned with perfecting their organization, obtaining representation on the chief party committees, and trying to induce the men politicians to heed their expressions of opinion on party policies. Those were the days of breaking ground, of establishing precedents, and of obtaining the recognition which the women of both great parties now enjoy. They were also the days of many

and bitter antagonisms, and often of a spirit of hostility between men and women in the parties. This was necessarily so, for there had been much opposition to woman suffrage. And many men were not in the least willing to share their power with women. It was a natural and a very human reaction. None of us like to give up our prerogatives until we are forced to do so; and during the time that women regarded themselves as on sufferance, force was the weapon they most often employed.

But that time is now, happily, past. The foundations have been laid, and although there is much for us still to do, it must be done not by force, but by persuasion; not by hostility, but by coöperation. The average man politician realizes that women in the political parties have come to stay, and he is beginning to see that they may be a valuable asset. But he is frankly disgusted by those women who talk of equal representation and equal opportunity, and who are continually seeking special privileges. When women do those things they undermine the whole argument in favor of woman suffrage. Women asked for the vote on the ground that they were just as capable of being good and intelligent citizens as men were. Yet, now that the vote has been given to them, they are all too apt to think of themselves as women first, and only secondarily to consider their duty as citizens. There is too much of the old spirit of antagonism still.

I remember distinctly hearing a woman who had been active in the campaign for suffrage and is now a prominent party worker, severely criticize another woman because she did not give the members of a committee certain information which she had received in confidence from men leaders of the party. This incident merely serves to illustrate the fact that the attitude of the militant suffragist frequently appears when we least expect it. Even among party workers there is still a tendency to mutual suspicion and distrust, which must be overcome before women can take their full share of the burden of work and responsibility.

I would not under any circumstances deny that there are certain subjects in which women have a primary interest and on which they are particularly qualified to speak. Any question which affects women and children must be of vital concern to every one of us, but women must be sure that they

consider these questions as citizens and not merely as women, and that the remedies or solutions they propose are consonant with our American form of government. In other words, we should view these subjects not as isolated units, but as a part of the whole governmental and legislative problem. It is only when we take this attitude that we can be sure that our advice is sound, and that we are benefiting the community as a whole rather than any single group, however worthy and deserving that group may be.

We must also admit that women's committees are still necessary in political parties. We all look forward to the day when men and women will work together without any need of special representation or consideration, but at present there are many hundreds of thousands of women who have not been aroused to a consciousness of their political responsibility, and who are more easily reached and influenced by other women than by men. There is, however, a constant effort to lessen the emphasis on sex, and to bring about close coöperation between men and women workers in the political parties.

What Women Have Accomplished

On the whole, in looking back over the last few years, an impartial observer would find much encouragement in the political progress made by the women of the country. They have "won their spurs." They have been given a place on party committees, and they are taking an ever-increasing share in party councils. The women who pride themselves on being non-partisan are gradually finding out that the only way in which any citizen can be politically articulate is to join a party. This is a difficult lesson for many women to learn, and some of them have had to suffer bitter disillusionment in learning it.

The advocates of special causes have discovered that without the help of the women within the parties they can make little progress, and many of them have become active party workers in consequence. Out of their disillusionment much good will come, for they bring to the party of their choice enthusiasm and a passionate determination to accomplish certain things. Their party associations teach them the value of fundamental political principles, the necessity for following established forms of procedure; and their fellow-workers give them both

inspiration and practical training. This combination leads to a more human attitude on the part of the political parties, and a greater and more sound appreciation of our system of government on the part of the women.

But the structure of good citizenship can not be built in a day. There are many women who have never assumed their civic responsibilities. They must be sought out and induced to take their places among the ranks of America's working citizens. We must help the average woman to overcome her tendency to confine her interest to special causes, and we must show her the wide field of public service that lies open to her. Especially we must learn the meaning of coöperation within the parties. The energy that men and women have worked up in mutual antagonism must be turned to a common effort to serve the community and the cause of good government.

When Suffrage Will Be a Success

Just so long as the women voters of the country must be given special privileges; just so long as they must be offered special programs to attract them, as one offers sweets to a child; just so long as they de-

mand special representation based on sex; just so long as they allow political parties to consider them as a unit rather than as intelligent and patriotic individuals—so long do they prove that women have not yet reached their political maturity. Political parties and candidates for office should be able to make their appeal, not to men or to women as such but to intelligent, high-minded, public-spirited citizens regardless of sex. When women voters learn to think of themselves in that spirit, woman suffrage in America will have been proved a complete success.

Women have a real contribution to make to our political life. They bring to it a new enthusiasm, a fresh point of view, and a confirmed faith in the value of high ideals. They are not easily discouraged, and those of them who are genuinely interested in politics are willing to give unsparingly of their time and strength. When they learn to merge their sex in citizenship a great step in advance will have been taken.

In 1920 women had just been enfranchised. In 1924 we are facing a crucial test. Let us meet that test so that in 1928 the success of woman suffrage will be a subject not for debate but for congratulation.



MRS. MAUD WOOD
PARK

(Who is chairman of the
National League of Women
Voters)



© Paul Thompson

MRS. O. H. P.
BELMONT

(Head of the organization
known as the National
Woman's Party)



MRS. EMILY NEWELL
BLAIR

(Vice - chairman of the
Democratic National Com-
mittee)



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MRS. HARRIET
TAYLOR UPTON

(Vice-chairman of the ex-
ecutive committee of the
Republican National Com-
mittee)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Prohibition from Three Angles

A NOVEL, not to say ingenious, contribution to the prohibition discussion is made by Prof. Stuart P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois, in the article which has first place in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May under the title "Cornelia and Dionysus." The skilful use of dialogue enables the writer to present the views of three men on this vexed question. The first, who is Cornelia's husband and a member of the diplomatic service, explains his approval of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act on the following grounds:

"As a private citizen, I still believe that prohibition can not be repealed. Within this belief, I merely include, as a private citizen, my philosophic certainty that it will never be enforced, except where it is economically necessary. In my case it is not necessary: therefore, it will not be enforced. Its enforcement helps the business of the plain people; it would hinder mine. It adds, on the whole, very greatly to the comfort of their lives; it would detract from mine. The whole case against liquor grew out of the plain people's abuse of it. The whole case of liquor will be improved by my right use of it. There is no 'rasping injustice' but a beautiful poetic justice in their losing theirs and in my keeping mine. That doesn't express adequately my generosity in lending my hand to riveting the workingman's benefits firmly upon him. Many of the most decorative and not the least substantial pillars of prohibition are men of excellent and experienced palate. I simply can not understand the Senator who refers to the Volstead Act as an idiotic measure and a failure. It was absolutely necessary: nothing which is necessary is idiotic. And every economist will tell you that it has been a marvelous economic success. It wonderfully accomplishes what had to be done, and it leaves undone what it ought not to do. And there you are."

The second man, a novelist, who makes no secret of his own disregard of the law, elucidates his own position by citing passages from the writings of Euripides:

"A great work—his *Bacchae*. Everybody ought to read it. You see, there's a reformer in Thebes, called Pentheus, a strait laced, stiff-necked puritan, an out-and-out prohibitionist, a—regular Mid-Western professor. Well, the young god—Dionysus,

you know—comes over into Greece from Asia with his choruses, singing and dancing and swinging the ivy-wreathed thyrsus—and all that beautiful joyous stuff, you know. But this Pentheus makes up his mind that Dionysus is a bad lot, and he locks the god up in the stable—passes a sort of Volstead Act on him, you understand. But he gets out—the god gets out. Of course he gets out; on the q. t. He escapes into the hills—classical moonshine, classical bootlegging, you see. The women get hold of the stuff and, up there in the hills, begin celebrating 'mysteries'—all on the q. t. Attorney-General Pentheus says this must be stopped—law must be enforced. He sleuths up into the hills to spy them out. But the women, his own mother among them, catch him, and literally pull him to pieces, tear him limb from limb and strew the bloody fragments all over the place. That's the vengeance of Dionysus.

"When I read this play, you know, it hit me in the eye that this thing is as old as history. This prohibition idiocy is as old as the race. If drinking could be rooted out, it would have been rooted out long ago. All the arguments against it were cheesy in the days of Noah. It sticks because, as His Excellency and I are pointing out, it is rooted in necessity. You reformers, as you call yourselves, don't know what you are about. You've bit off what can't be chewed. You are attacking religion; and it's dangerous business. You are trying to kill a god, and it can't be done."

The third speaker, a college professor from the Middle West, seems to represent the attitude of Professor Sherman himself. He admits that since his student days he has been a resident of a bone-dry district, and has seen very little liquor of any kind. But as he recalls the days when in most of the States alcoholic drinks were freely sold, his comments upon the practice of drinking in America are stern to the point of severity.

"The first point is this: that customary drinking in America, whatever it may be in Greece, has been and is, on the whole, not beautiful but ugly, disgusting, and destructive. The second point is this: that customary drinking in America is so inveterately intemperate that your proposal to institute a custom of temperate drinking is really far more visionary and impractical than prohibition. Your remedy is not conceived with an eye to the essential facts in the case."

"And these are—" prompted His Excellency.

"These are," I said, "that Americans of both upper and lower classes are temperamentally hard to stop when they are started. Ninety out of every hundred Americans feel a curious pride in 'seeing the whole show,' on 'going the whole hog,' on 'sticking the thing out,' on 'going the limit,' on 'getting results,' and on 'getting there first.' This temperament shows in their drinking as in everything else. They care nothing for taste or bouquet. They value their liquor in proportion to the quickness of the 'kick.' 'I can let the stuff alone,' they say, 'but when it speaks to me, I want it to speak with some authority.'"

An automobile accident in the street at this juncture seems to add emphasis to the Professor's argument. He says:

"We don't know how this accident out here in the street took place; but in our Mid-Western metropolis we killed some seven hundred people last year with cars, and, according to the papers, there was more than one such accident as this one from drivers who were drunk. With one out of



DR. S. P. SHERMAN

every seven men, women, children, and babies in the United States driving a car at from twenty to forty miles an hour, along crowded streets and thoroughfares from Maine to California, we have simply got to prevent drivers from being drunk. It's in the necessity of the situation. We are all private engineers nowadays. That's what we want. Very well. If we all want to be private engineers, we've got to submit to the same regulations as governed—long since—engineers on the railways. Our job is not less hazardous than theirs, but more so. A railway engineer who drinks is fired by the railroad and, I understand, by his own union."

The symposium is brought to a dramatic and unexpected close by the revelation that the accident, in which a boy was seriously, if not fatally, injured, was caused by Cornelia's own son speeding his car while drunk. His mother had believed her son to be a total abstainer. It was, indeed, a sad ending.

Coal-Mine Accidents—Can They Be Prevented?

THE loss of more than 100 lives by an explosion in a West Virginia coal mine a month ago once again directed the country's attention to the great number of fatalities that have resulted recently in this country from similar explosions. In the current number of the *American Labor Legislation Review* (New York) Mr. John B. Andrews, secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, sets forth certain conclusions which he has reached after a careful study of this problem. Against the operators of American coal mines he brings the serious charge of indifference to the safety of the miners. After examining the statistics of miners' fatalities in Great Britain, he says

this in tabular statements. But the fact has not as yet "got over" to the public.

FATALITY RATE PER 1,000 WORKERS

Year	United Kingdom	United States	Ratio
1919	.94	3.03	3.22
1920	.88	2.92	3.32
1921	.66	2.42	3.67

Moreover, one may point out, as did a leading statistician before the National Safety Council in 1923, that, "More disturbing than the appallingly greater fatality rate is the fact that the relative fatality rates, though fluctuating rather widely, show on the whole a decided increase."

As clearly brought out at the Chicago conference of the Association for Labor Legislation in 1922 by Geo. S. Rice, chief mining engineer, and Wm. W. Adams, statistician, of the United States Bureau of Mines, "Over a period of ten years (1911-1920) the average fatality rate has been 1.2 in Great Britain and 4.3 in the United States."

In the United States we are killing coal miners three times as fast as they kill them in Great Britain. I have great interest in the safety movement of America. I point with pride to it at every opportunity. But we will probably all agree that the way to get the best results in any industry is to face the facts and then make use of them.

It happens that for 1919, 1920 and 1921, the latest years for which comparable statistics are available, our fatality rate per thousand coal miners employed has been a little more than three times as great as their fatality rate in the United Kingdom.

Voluminous government reports have been saying

But in the bituminous coal industry of the United States the fatality rate is still higher than for the coal industry as a whole. During the ten years ending in 1922 the U. S. Bureau of Mines reports that at the bituminous coal mines alone there were killed 18,243 miners, the average fatality rate being 4.3 per one thousand employed.

Of the average of 1824 bituminous coal miners killed each year, about one-half met their death from falls of roof and coal; about 18 per cent. were killed by mine cars and locomotives and about 12 per cent. by gas and coal-dust explosions.

It has been estimated that the bituminous coal industry in the State of Pennsylvania loses 1,165,900 days' service yearly on account of about 28,800 serious, non-fatal accidents, resulting in a compensation cost of nearly \$1,500,000 annually. Furthermore, the property and production loss must run into the millions. On this point Mr. Andrews says:

This is a record of striving for large output with less consideration for safety than for both high dividends and high wages. Officially it is a record of decentralized administration—of protective state regulations that differ almost as much in character as does the degree of their enforcement from state to state. It is a record at best of tardy adoption of safeguards—lagging years behind engineering knowledge of what can and ought to be done. It is a record of appalling and needless loss of property as well as human lives, which have been sacrificed to speed, greed, and indifference to the public interest.

Whatever may be true as to other causes of coal-mine fatalities, Mr. Andrews has become convinced that explosions in mines can be prevented. This belief seems to be confirmed, in a measure at least, by the recent report of a committee representative of coal-mine operators, miners, casualty in-

surance interests, mining engineers, inspectors and statisticians, under the chairmanship of Dean Holbrook, of the Mining School at the Pennsylvania State College. This committee strongly recommends the use of shale or approved rock dust to check the spread of coal-dust explosions. The particles of this shale dust come between the floating particles of coal dust and arrest the process of ignition and explosion. Commenting on this recommendation, Mr. Andrews says:

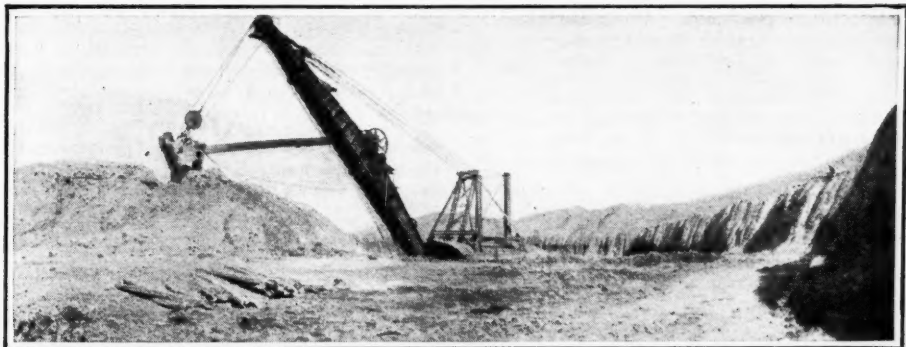
There are not, to my knowledge, more than three substantial coal companies in America that are using this simple, reasonably inexpensive, and effective safeguard against coal dust explosions. While making inquiries in Europe I learned that at least France and England compel the use of shale or rock dust by national law. And in talking recently with the chief of the British Department of Mines, I found that before the adoption of official regulations on the subject, British employers were not unlike the vast majority of our own coal mine operators. At first they wouldn't believe coal dust is explosive. When it was conclusively demonstrated in experimental mines, they then said, "Well, the coal dust in my mine is not explosive!" And when the explosibility of this too had been proven, they fell back upon the objection to the cost of adopting so simple a measure.

After July 1, next, the State Industrial Commission of Utah will require the use of rock dust in mines. This practice has been strongly recommended by the United States Bureau of Mines. The methods of stonedusting or rock-dusting to prevent coal dust explosions as practiced in Great Britain and France are fully described by George S. Rice, in a bulletin of the Bureau of Mines which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. The price of this publication is ten cents.

Mr. Andrews is persuaded that fully two-thirds of the fatal and serious accidents that occur at the bituminous mines of this country could be prevented by the adoption of safety methods already in successful operation at certain mines here and in Great Britain. We should not lag behind.



RESCUE CREW ENTERING THE BENWOOD MINE AT WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA, WHERE THE MINE MOUTHS WERE CLOSED BY AN EXPLOSION AND MORE THAN 100 LIVES WERE LOST ON APRIL 28 LAST



STRIPPING COAL FROM THE SURFACE IN NORTH DAKOTA

The Coming Fuel of the Northwest

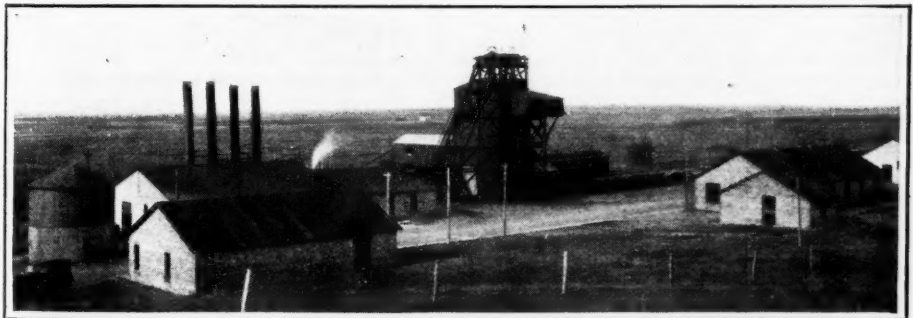
THE name "lignite" is given to the least valuable member of the coal family—the form of coal that is the least altered from the vegetal matter of primeval peat-bogs. The United States Geological Survey applies this name only to those coals that are distinctly brown, and either markedly woody or clay-like in appearance. Lignite, as it comes from the mine, contains from 30 to 40 per cent. of moisture, and it "slacks" or falls to pieces much more rapidly than bituminous or anthracite coal on exposure to the air; hence it is hardly suitable for transportation. Of course the poor quality of this fuel is only relative, and the enormous deposits of it found in some parts of the world represent vast potential wealth. One of the greatest of these deposits is that of the northern Great Plains region of the United States. Here the coal is nearly all lignite or the slightly more valuable sub-bituminous, but it is none the less an impressive fact that the

total unmined coal in this region is estimated to be twice as great as that lying in the world-renowned coal measures of the Appalachians.

Writing in *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), Mr. Stanley Washburn says:

For many years coal has been hauled from the East to these western States which have this valuable resource beneath their soil. Twenty million tons are carried for an average of 1,000 miles at present high rates for freight. Minnesota and North and South Dakota pay an annual coal bill amounting to nearly \$150,000,000. This tremendous sum represents more than will be realized this year from the wheat crops of Minnesota and the Dakotas. They must pay it to the railroads and mines of the East at a time when they must also borrow heavily from the East to finance the movement of crops. The States tributary to these States are in a similar position.

This is economic waste. It costs millions in unnecessary freight charges. It requires the travel of thousands of freight cars and engines. It diverts crew-power needed to serve sections closer to the mines, which now are forced to obtain their coal supply from hand to mouth.



A LIGNITE MINE ON THE PLAINS OF NORTH DAKOTA HAVING A DAILY OUTPUT OF 5 000 TONS

It is only within the last few decades that the realization has dawned upon the northwest that in the lignite coal there exists an adequate alternative to the use of anthracite and bituminous both for power and domestic use. This dawning appreciation of the vast latent resources beneath the prairies of the northwest promises to be the beginning of an industrial revolution in that section of the country.

Obviously, the development of the lignite industry has been discouraged in every way, possibly by the well-organized interests that have been supplying the northwest with coal. Almost every dealer in the West represents some eastern mine, and unintermittent attacks on lignite as an alternative for eastern fuels, both anthracite and bituminous, have retarded the development which promises to be the Dakotas' greatest asset.

The United States Bureau of Mines has now come to the rescue with a new process for preparing from lignite an excellent and economical fuel known as "lignite char." The lignite is carbonized in a special type of oven, yielding about half its original weight in char, which can be used directly as fuel or converted into briquets. If burned directly in stoves or heaters the powdery nature of the fuel calls for an appropriate type of grate, but this is equally true of anthracite screenings and other fine fuels.

In Germany and elsewhere abroad lignite has been extensively treated in by-product ovens, so as to yield, in addition to a solid fuel, valuable stores of gas, tar, benzol, ammonium sulphate, etc. Whether similar operations would be profitable in this country, where marketing conditions and other economic factors are quite different, seems doubtful at present. The efforts of the Bureau of Mines have been concentrated on devising a cheap process of making lignite char, without recovery of by-products except enough gas for heating the ovens or other local use, and the tar that is obtained incidentally with the gas.

According to a recent statement issued by *Science Service*

The estimates are that a successful plant to make one hundred tons of lignite briquets per day would cost \$130,000. About three-fourths of the investment would be for the briqueting machinery and accessories and only one-fourth for the carbonizing plant. Under these conditions the char or fine material would cost \$4.85 per ton, and briquets ready to market \$8.17 per ton. These prices in lignite regions compare with anthracite quotations of \$18 and \$20 a ton.

The German Railroads as Security for Reparations

IN THE *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 1, M. C. Colson, Member of the Institute and a veteran expert, writes with easy mastery on the financial and economic side of this much-debated question, after the required exordium on German welching and French wrongs. The problem takes already the form of seeking adequate pledges to insure an international loan. The railroads are among the most obvious means.

Having devoted a large part of my life to the study of railroad administration, I would like to discuss the value of this security and point out how it can be practically utilized. In estimating values, I shall take as a base the results of 1913. . . . Germany, trimmed a little on the frontiers, has retained the chief wealth of her surface and sub-surface, with nine-tenths of her population. She has devoted all her resources, since the war, to the perfection of her equipment. . . . The Reich has taken over the railroads from the several states since the war. . . . Furthermore, the original capital, reimbursement to the states, and cost of improvements, were all reckoned in paper marks, and so have vanished when the exchange value of the mark reached the zero point. That is purely a matter of internal adjust-

ment between German governments and citizens: it does not affect at all the future productiveness of this new security.

The objection will be raised, that all the railroads of the world are running at a loss. That is entirely the fault of the public authorities, who shun the criticism that would be aroused by any increase of rates. In their outgo, the railroads have to endure the general rise of prices, caused in all lands by the more or less diminished purchasing value of money. There is actually more freight to transport than before the war, and the long homeless life of the soldier creates a desire for travel. So under normal tariffs the returns should be actually better than before the war.

The German ante-bellum co-efficient of exploitation (ratio of costs to gross receipts) was 70 to 100 in 1913. The average for the five great French companies in the same year was 60 to 100. Of course, such a difference may not be due to greater value of the property: economic, technical and administrative factors may enter in: but on close examination all these appear to be on the other side.

The tariff rates in the two countries were about the same, the German ones being lower on passengers, baggage and dogs, higher on freight. But the Germans had a denser population, greater industrial development, so larger receipts per mile of actual track: which should always reduce the coefficient. The trains, also, were insufficient in number and

crowded. The average surface is more level than in France. General costs, as of coal, rails, etc., were lower. . . .

There is no doubt that an economical administration could have reduced the coefficient below 60-100, thus adding over a third to net profits. Aside from Alsace-Lorraine, the actual profit in 1913 from the German railroads was one billion, two million gold marks, from which must be deducted 7% for mileage lost in territories ceded at the close of the war, leaving 932 million gold marks, or 1166 million francs. That would be a return of $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ on 18 milliards (18,000,000,000 gold francs) if advanced as an international loan.

But the writer believes that this net revenue of 1913 is by no means the maximum one attainable. The normal increase of tariff rate already discussed, the natural increase of population and general prosperity under stable conditions and a sound currency, the return of German and influx of alien capital, would all increase both gross and net receipts.

The latter part of the article discusses the form of international control, whether unified for all Germany or divided among the neighbor-nations vitally concerned, the prospect of a reasonable return in interest and amortization of the loan itself, and similar problems to be eventually settled, it is to be hoped, on the general bases afforded by the Dawes report and its proposals. The tone is altogether amicable and hopeful, if not absolutely confident, despite mild expressions of regret over the imperfect understanding of France and Belgium on the part of England and Italy. The whole article is deserving of careful study by all who are intelligently interested in the success of the loan itself, or in the final settlement of the vexed and dangerous problem of reparations—the century's greatest task in statecraft.

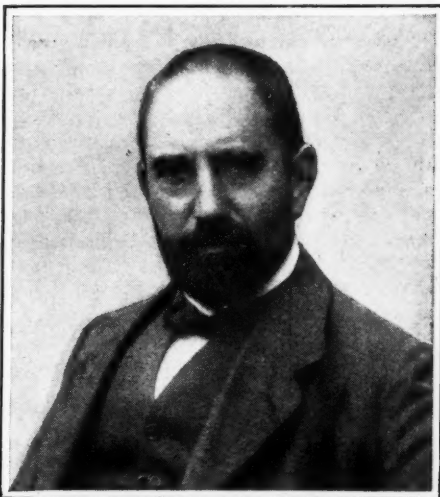
Maximilian Harden on Hugo Stinnes, the German Industrial King

HUGO STINNES' sudden death, at the relatively early age of fifty-four, coincided very closely with the publication of the Dawes Plan, which he could have aided—or thwarted—more effectively than any other man in the world, and, also, with the publication of the fourth volume of Harden's far-ranging *Köpfe* (character-studies) the first copies of which have just crossed the ocean. In this important book a study of Stinnes, of some 7,000 words, clearly shows that Harden heartily admired, probably loved, Stinnes, and was inclined to trust him under the most dangerous and alluring temptation. Its extreme frankness, nevertheless, seems to indicate that he knew his friend's days were numbered, or else felt anxiety as to his strength of mind to make the Great Refusal. Even so, it seems strange to find friendship with the living quite so freely revealed and exploited.

After a rollicking "Imaginary Conversation" among typical Berliners, to show the boundless growth of the Stinnes myth, the real essay begins with the words that Nemesis had already falsified: "Mr. Hugo Stinnes lives. Bodily, at Mülheim on the Ruhr, where he was born, in Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Rome, Amsterdam . . . just wherever there is something to do, to administer." (Harden outruns even Walt

Whitman in noun-lists, which will sometimes bear excision.)

Son and grandson of Ruhr shippers, Stinnes had a French, or at least half-Latin mother, from whom he inherited the eyes of a dreamer. Harden likens his largeness of vision to Cecil Rhodes', whose aims were likewise grossly misapprehended. But the boy



HUGO STINNES, GERMANY'S INDUSTRIAL MAGNATE, 1870-1924

had the narrowest type of purely technical education only. As his friend regretfully says: "For this man, Shakespeare, Dante, Beethoven, Rembrandt, Velasquez, . . . Angelo, Pascal, Kant, Nietzsche, the Great Ones in the empire of Art and Psychology, do not exist."

After only two years' training in his grandfather's firm, he at twenty-two took his little personal fortune of 50,000 marks and set up his own business. His chief or only confidante and adviser has always been his wife. In an absolutely simple bourgeois home his children are trained, chiefly, by the father conversationally, and to practical business competence alone.

His success was immediate and unceasing. The tales of his acquiring forest, mine, transportation lines, factories, ships, to cut out all middlemen between his own raw materials and his finished products and customers, reminds one of Henry Ford; and still more his early determination, far more than attained, to "be independent of the banks." But he has been, always, constructive and helpful to all that he has touched, like a Hariman, not destructive like an earlier American "railroad king." There has been no foundation for the "Stinnes-peril" bugaboo, says Harden, for he loved strength, efficiency, success, and cooperated with them always, gladly and in good faith. His chief genius lies in piercing scrutiny of all helpers, and coordination of all his projects. At thirty-four he and Thymes, then sixty, were the accepted leaders of German industrialism.

The war found him already an international power, his fortune even then estimated at \$125,000,000. Harden believes his friend, like himself, recognized clearly in Wilhelm the evil genius of Germany, but realized that the struggle against the world must be fought out in his name: indeed that Stinnes had in him none of the instincts of the plotter against authority. Throughout the struggle Stinnes was the chief organizer behind the army, even the chief deviser of substitutes for the necessities cut off by the British blockade. Harden calls him an erring judge of greatness, especially since to the last day he pinned full faith on Von Müllendorff's genius as a field marshal.

Harden quotes, elaborates, or invents three striking judgments on Stinnes, as addressed confidentially to the essayist himself. Rathenau says: "You wonder,

Maxim, why I attack your Stinnes (of course not by name) so ungently, quite against my habit, in my books. . . . The truth is, he's a monster. Germany, to him, means coal; an understanding with Russia, petroleum, wood for mine-props, wool, cheap rye-bread. He would swallow all German industry, then have himself adored as Deliverer of the Fatherland." That was the voice of ignoble jealousy, of an utterly selfish adventurer. Radek, the Bolshevik, admires the one big real man among the bourgeois, but all the more would cry: "Crush the villain, all the same!"

Ballin, probably one of Harden's best beloved, whom the biographer introduced to Stinnes, and who finally coaxed the merchant prince into a dinner jacket, only complains, perhaps whimsically, that his great land rival is tactless, rough-hewn, and also that "as some children cannot leave a mouthful of a tart, and some men can leave no woman in peace, so Stinnes can keep his hands off no business."

Toward the close the question is frankly touched whether from within or without, the temptation may yet come to Stinnes to be made an actual or virtual citizen-king. Harden hopes, and is disposed to believe, that his friend's innate simplicity, and his distaste for politics, would enable him to put the crown aside, resolutely as Washington did, and Cæsar could not. But in the organization of industry for Germany and possibly for the world, he sees no limit to Stinnes' capacity, ambition, or probable success.

It is implicitly and explicitly denied that Stinnes prospered by impoverishing his country, or used wealth except to extend and develop sound and fruitful business. His personal tastes remained always simple, though he was compelled in his last years, by multiplying burdens and duties, to use special trains, to engage suites at great hotels, and so forth, not for himself, but for his army of lieutenants, experts, secretaries, and the rest.

The whole study demands, like most of Harden's writing, expansion and exposition, rather than summarizing. It may be regarded as atoning in some measure for the fact that Stinnes is altogether omitted from the larger general picture in Harden's "Germany, France, and England," where Rathenau, Ebert, and lesser men are accorded full-length, though never flattering, portraits.

The Labor Movement in Mexico

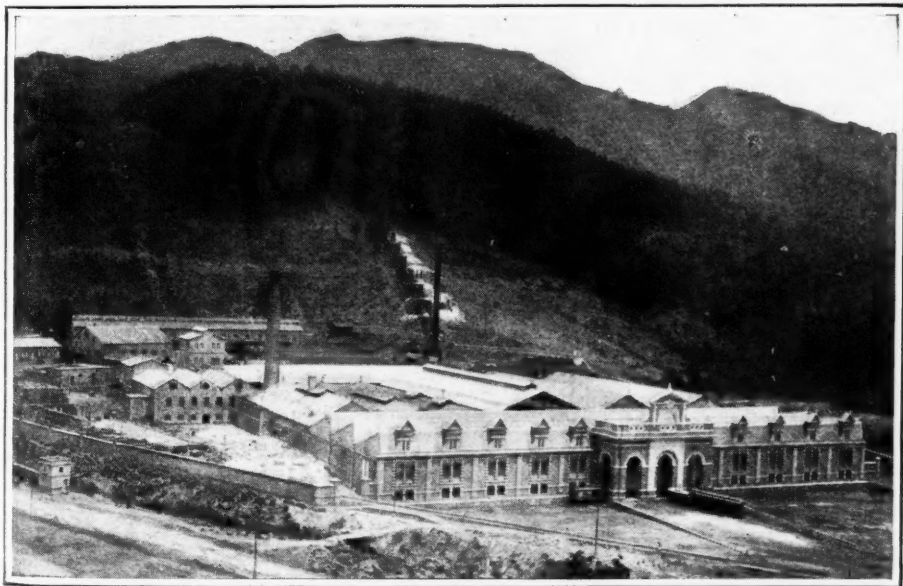
IN THE *Survey* (New York) for May 1 the situation in Mexico is discussed from various viewpoints. In the opening article Mr. Frank Tannenbaum calls attention to the growth of the labor unions and to the social legislative program embodied in the Mexican Constitution of 1917:

If the provisions embodied in the basic laws of Mexico were actually applied, Mexico would have one of the best protected and cared for labor groups in the world, for the revolutionists who framed the constitution of 1917 combed the social legislation of the most advanced industrial countries and picked provisions from each for the protection of Mexican labor. The constitution provides a basic day of eight hours; it limits night work to seven hours; it prohibits the employment of women and children at night or overtime; it limits child labor between twelve and sixteen to six hours per day; it provides for a day of rest each week; it compels double time for overtime; it confines the overtime to three hours per day and three days per week; it establishes a three months period before birth and one month after birth for special consideration of women workers; it legalizes labor organization and strikes; it compels the employer to accept arbitration; it imposes a three months' pay for the unjustly discharged worker; it prohibits shutdowns except for overproduction subject to the approval of a board of conciliation and arbitration; it enforces payment of wages in legal tender; it establishes employers' liability for accidents. In short, it gives formal and constitutional expression to the dreams of the reformers of the western world.

So far, as Mr. Tannenbaum points out, most of these provisions are on paper. Their application is yet to be worked out.

Of perhaps equal importance is the fact that the labor organization will compel (as it has already done) organization of other groups—the middle class. That is, resistance to one social grouping is bringing out a new type of organization among other groups. The field of power is being preempted by organized groups to the diminishing of the power of the military group and perhaps its ultimate reduction to impotence in matters of political and social policy. The recent uprising may thus signalize the coming of a new balance into the field—organized workers, organized agrarians, organized middle class.

"Mexico as an Industrial Nation" is the subject of an article in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* for May by Hector Lazo, special agent of the Department of Commerce. He shows that labor and political disturbances have worked against the expansion of manufacturing industries in Mexico, which await the settlement of labor disputes and continued internal peace in the country as a whole. But he regards as equally important for the industrial future of Mexico the increase of agricultural production, for agriculture, directly and indirectly, supports more men than any other native industry in Mexico.



PAPER MILL AT SAN RAFAEL, MEXICO—THE MOST IMPORTANT PLANT IN THE COUNTRY

Some Readjustments in American Agriculture

MUCH has been heard lately about the woes of the American farmer. Without attempting to minimize the seriousness of the situation, Mr. Arthur P. Chew, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, declares in *Better Crops* (N. Y.) that "the farmer is finding his way out," and explains how he is doing it. He is, we are told, altering his crop and live-stock programmes to suit changed market conditions, broadening his enterprises so as to get a better seasonal distribution of labor and a fuller use of material resources, and giving more attention to details of farm management.

The farmer is, in short, adapting his undertakings to circumstances. This does not mean, however, that he is having recourse to the cure-all of the agricultural theorists, "mixed farming." Types of farming are fixed, in the main, by permanent conditions of soil and climate, and by market conditions which, while not necessarily permanent, usually change but slowly. Many a farmer, says Mr. Chew, has been ruined by attempting mixed farming where the conditions demanded specialization. The readjustments now in progress do not consist so much of diversification of crops as of wide-spread changes common to extensive regions. Thus, says the writer, the farmers are making a vast reduction in wheat acreage.

There is a popular impression to the contrary, based on publicity given reports about the wheat surplus and on the fact that our wheat acreage in 1923 was still 24 per cent. greater than before the war. As a matter of fact our wheat acreage from 1919 to 1923 was cut from 75,000,000 to 58,000,000 acres, and it will be cut more this year. It is being readjusted to meet the realities of the world situation with extraordinary speed.

Even in the spring wheat country, where crop readjustment is more difficult than anywhere else, wheat farmers are experimenting with other crops and are building up livestock enterprises. In the semi-arid regions of western North Dakota and eastern Montana, farmers have found that they can successfully grow corn on land which they have been accustomed to summer-fallow. As a result, they are growing feed and raising hogs and cattle, instead of sticking to a one-crop system.

In North Dakota, where the farmers are generally supposed to be obstinately committed to one-crop farming—to mining the land for wheat—there has been a marked increase in the raising of livestock, corn acreage is gaining, and here, as in other

spring wheat States, the growing of flax is becoming one of the foremost industries. The flax acreage was 2,300,000 in 1923 as compared with 1,300,000 acres in 1922, and, in spite of this enlarged production, the price rose in the same period from \$1.88 to \$2.12 a bushel.

Sheep raising is helping thousands of farmers to make a profitable readjustment of their enterprises. Two-thirds of our sheep are still raised on the range, but the farm proportion is rapidly growing, owing to several factors. One, of course, is the high price of sheep and wool. Sheep rose last year from \$4.80 to \$7.50 a head in average farm price for the entire country; wool rose from 29 cents to 38 cents at the farm. Another thing that is helping the farmer who raises sheep in the Middle West and the eastern states is his proximity to markets. Since lamb and mutton came to take a dominating place in the sheep industry, quick transportation to consuming markets has given the farmer-sheep man an advantage over the range operator.

In prosperous New England, where farmers have specialized in dairying and 70 per cent. of the land is in hay, there is a drift toward raising garden truck, poultry, and feed grains. A generation ago New England was driven out of small grain production by the competition of the west. But high freight rates and land values are now weakening the competitive positions of the western feed-raiser. It is once more profitable for the eastern farmer at least to grow feed for his stock, and he is beginning to do so.

In some parts of the cotton belt, there has been over-specialization in cotton. Farmers are breaking away from this system, at least to the extent of growing fruits and vegetables for their own use. On the other hand, along the northern edge of the cotton belt agriculture has been too much diversified. Farmers there have a choice of so many enterprises that some of them have tried to grow corn, wheat, hay, cotton and tobacco at the same time. They are tending now to concentrate on one or two crops. In the tobacco districts there is a tendency to grow some cotton, since tobacco production is possibly overdone. In the south, where climatic conditions make the fight against the boll weevil exceptionally hard, farmers are turning to the production of farm maintenance crops, velvet beans, peanuts, other forage crops, and pasture.

The peanut crop is coming to be the basis of an important livestock industry. Moreover, peanut oil can be substituted for coconut oil in all of its use. As we import large quantities of coconut oil, soy-bean oil, peanut oil and other vegetable oils, the peanut growers, in regions where cotton will no longer thrive, have an opportunity to serve industry as well as agriculture. In the corn-belt the soy-bean crop is coming into favor at a rapid rate. In the same territory wheat acreage is being put into corn, because corn at last year's prices was worth just about twice as much per acre as wheat.

This does not by any means exhaust the list of the changes farmers are making in their production plans to conform with the altered market situation brought about by the war and its consequences.

The Backward State of Our Rural Schools

THE "little red schoolhouse" has been the object of a great deal of sentimental glorification that it does not deserve. As a matter of fact, the typical American rural school is a disgrace to a civilized country. A deplorable situation is revealed in the following statement of Dr. Frank P. Graves, State Commissioner of Education for New York, published in *School Life* (Washington, D. C.):

About one-fourth of the total rural-school enrollment and 45 per cent. of the rural teaching corps are housed in one-room schools of the crudest sort. There are upwards of two hundred thousand of these one-room buildings in the United States, and a fairly large percentage of them were constructed at least forty years ago, despite the fact that school architecture and equipment have been advancing by leaps and bounds during that time. Four-fifths of them have no provision for heating and ventilation, except the old unjacketed stove and the rickety windows, respectively, and nine-tenths of the buildings are not properly lighted. In at least 90 per cent. the seating is poor and unadjustable, and often where the seats could be arranged to suit the pupil this has never been given consideration. Where in the cities some four-fifths of the teachers have had at least the minimum amount of standard training—that is, two years beyond the high school—in the country less than one-twentieth have so qualified; and the turnover in rural teachers each year is just about 50 per cent. In general, the country districts can rarely secure any except the youngest, most immature, and least experienced young women for their schools. The better class of teachers, attracted by improved living conditions, assured tenure, larger salaries, professional companionship, and opportunities for growth and promotion, are largely drained off into the cities. As a natural result, scholastic progress in the rural schools is greatly handicapped, and, on the average, children of the same age are at least a year or two behind those in the cities. Moreover, in innumerable instances it is all but impossible for the farm children, however bright, to secure a high-school training, for there is nothing of the sort anywhere in their neighborhood and no facilities are available for board or transportation.

One unfortunate factor in the situation, says Dr. Graves, is that a great many people regard the function of a rural school as entirely different from that of the city school, and therefore there is a tendency to be satisfied with existing conditions. These people believe that the country school should make it its business to retain children on the farm; hence that all rural schools should be built in the open country in a purely rural environment, and have the course thoroughly ruralized. Where the schools are dominated by this idea little is likely to be done to fit a child for member-

ship in society at large, and the fuller life, richer satisfactions and broader social view open to those educated in the city become almost impossible for him. We read further:

For over a century the growing concentration of population in urban centers has been breeding an unfair contrast between the educational facilities of the city and those of the country. For almost as long a period educators have been calling attention to the comparative ineffectiveness of the rural schools; and, since statistics, tests, surveys, and other forms of measurement have come more into vogue, it has been clearly shown that the country schools have not only fallen short of a reasonable standard of efficiency, but that they have cost far more for each pupil. The fundamental difficulty in this whole sad state of affairs is, of course, the need of a larger unit of organization. The existing weakness can never be overcome as long as the small district with its sparse population and consequently meager wealth back of each child exists as a separate and independent entity. The unit must be greatly enlarged and the schools consolidated, and, wherever necessary, the pupils transported, if the available resources and the educational conditions are to approach those of the city. Of course this effort to produce a larger school population for each unit will not alone be sufficient, as the rural districts are still too poor, even when their money has been equalized and economically expended, and the State must, therefore, step in and provide more substantial and better equalized subsidies for them all. No one has yet devised a plan that will secure good buildings and equipment without money, and all the special training of rural teachers in the world will not help the situation if the salaries and other conditions are not such as to attract them to the country.

The movement toward consolidation began a generation ago in New England, and has gradually spread over the country.

It can no longer be regarded as a mere experiment or fad. It has won a permanent place in practical school administration. It is preliminary and fundamental to effectiveness in all other reforms—in building, equipment, content, and method. It has leaped from State to State through the zeal of educational reformers and missionaries and the force of example. The number of small schools and weak districts has now been substantially lessened through statutory provisions in most States and the best ways for increasing the size of the unit have been carefully worked out. Some Commonwealths, like those of New England, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, have adopted the township basis, while county control has been generally utilized in the South and in Utah, and the community or enlarged district plan in Illinois and other Western States; but, while the county will often be found to form the most effective unit for both administration and support, the exact method is not so important as the general idea of consolidation and undoubtedly various ways will be most effective in different States. In some of our Commonwealths public funds may now be used for transportation, and in most of them the amounts are carefully reported.

German Universities Under the Republic— Their Financial Straits

TIME was when more American students flocked to the universities of Germany than to those of any other country. The situation is wholly different now, and American graduate students find courses offered at Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and several of the State Universities which satisfy their demands for instruction quite as fully as do those offered by any of the European universities. It is, however, a matter of interest to note the changes that have occurred in German university life since the Great War disturbed the equilibrium.

Christian Herrmann writes in the February *Revue de Genève* that one of the chief differences between the university in Germany and in other countries is that it combines instruction and research.

The university here must supply the future state employees or the great economic organization leaders with the necessary legal training and knowledge of political economy. It must also provide the professors, the doctors and the clergymen with their necessary mental baggage. They should, of course, teach the young men to apply practically what they have learned. As a general rule, excepting in medicine, the university doesn't care a rap about the practical side. The whole idea is that the alma mater teaches the student to work scientifically and independently. But these students make up only 3 per cent. of the total number, and a reform was suggested which would completely separate the men preparing for professions and those who could afford to devote their lives to the furthering of science by research.

In the decades that preceded the great conflict [Herr Herrmann continues] this dissociation of the universities from real life was particularly marked, and they were hypnotized by research, so to speak. They took care not to take any position as to the problems of the day. They treated the past with cold detachment. There was no historian who would select the present. The university professors were completely severed from politics. They could not even properly be called reactionary, as they were so frequently abroad, because to be reactionary one must define a certain political idea and be able to make an appreciation of it, which their minds refused. If, after the war and revolution, a number of professors adopted an attitude rather hostile to the new régime, it must be attributed more especially to the breaking down of caste barriers, from which their class had to suffer most particularly. What I have just said of politics is equally true of other questions of vital importance, so that the universities no longer exercised any influence on public life. Social conflicts, however stirring to the people, religious revivals and aspiration or art currents remained remote from the academic world. It was during the period immediately preceding the

war that this divorce was most clearly illustrated.

In the meantime changes have occurred. There are to-day a number of professors who are engaged in politics, among them, Radbrück, a jurist from Kiel, a Socialist who was Minister of Justice until a few months ago; Troetsch and C. H. Becker who were States Secretaries in the Ministry of Religions; Hellpach of Karlsruhe who was a Minister of Public Instruction, and many others who are members of Parliament.

Political interests are more lively in younger members of the faculties than in their hide-bound elders, and they choose their parties freely, with perhaps a preference for the moderate groups. With the awakening of an interest in politics among the faculty, the lectures have come down to modern times, which shows that at least economic, social and political life are considered worthy of mention. In Berlin a school for the higher study of politics has been founded, and the majority of the teachers are professors at the University. Seventy per cent. of the students are Conservatives, from reasons of a social nature. The well-to-do classes to which the majority of the students still belongs were impoverished by the war, so that they blame the new order of things for their present discomfort. This error is due to their lack of political education, which is now being remedied.

Extension teaching, encouraged by municipal endowment, has also spread since the Armistice and brings the faculties in closer relation to reality. All the universities are engaged in a hard struggle for existence, with a wide gap between income and expenses. The more delicate instruments for the laboratories are now next to impossible to procure, animals for experiments must be reduced to a minimum, the botanical and zoological students can no longer keep up their specimens for study since imports and scientific expeditions are prohibitive on account of the expense. The lectures on Egyptology, Assyrology, Hindu lore or Sirology are being deserted, and Chinese and ancient Egyptian grammars are out of print.

The number of students has also fallen off from 62,000 to 46,000. The Dental Institute of the Berlin University, which can accommodate 300 pupils, had only one German last year, although there were a number of foreigners, Scandinavians for the most part. The professors receive less than salesmen did before the war. The *privat-docent*, or associate professor, receives no fees at all when he has no subscribers to his lectures.

This financial distress [concludes Herr Herrmann] may prove a blessing in disguise if we succeed in surviving it. The universities will be forced to pursue more restricted and intensive methods. And the German Republic may flatter itself that it has contributed to the clearing up of the vague fogs that obscured the faculty's scheme of instruction. At least the German professor of the hour is alive to the fact that the ante-bellum faculty was incapable of reacting adequately to every-day preoccupation and exigencies, or of seeing the disproportion between their mentality and national and international problems. These glaring defects must be remedied and at once.

Two German Patriots

IN CERTAIN foreign centers, like Barcelona and Buenos Aires, the German press and colony are franker in their nationalistic utterances, perhaps, than in Berlin itself. A notable address delivered before the German Club of Buenos Aires on the 4th of December last by Fritz Haber, is published in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for April. The stated subject is "Progress of German Chemistry in the Last Ten Years." The keynote is happily struck by a sentence from Fichte: "To be German means to have character." The imperious need for the chemist is frankly "based on the necessity for national defense, since the soldier must be assured of his power and his explosives within his own country."

While acknowledging the original leadership of France and England in this science, the practical German was first to surround each eminent inventive genius with a band of less gifted journeymen, and put him also in direct touch with commerce, economics and statesmanship—an example, which France especially waited sixty years before imitating. So it came to pass that "at the outbreak of the World War chemistry was stronger and more elaborated scientifically and industrially in Germany than in any other land on earth." All this casts a clear light on the crowning assurance that "this science has, during this last decade, again been richer in problems and accomplishment in every phase of German life than in any other whole generation."

The scientist sees each event from his special angle. England's entrance into the war was a terrible blow to German science, because it meant that "the other side had at its disposal the raw materials of the world, we only had what could be found or created within our own confines." So the first great service of German chemistry at that crisis was the conversion of ammoniac, on an immense scale, both into saltpetre and into the nitrogenous nutrition required for agriculture, "to break the point of our enemy's most dangerous weapon, hunger." So, too, the urgent need of fats for food forbade their use to obtain glycerine (and eventually nitroglycerine), and a brilliant discovery made possible the requisite supply thereof, from sugar.

The dubious honor of inventing poison gas the orator is unwilling to claim, tracing

it back to the smoking out of the Plataeans in the Peloponnesian war, in the fifth century B. C., thus repelling "the slanders of a hostile press." Then, too, the French had used this device earlier—against a band of robbers. Nevertheless, it is elaborately defended, above all as being more humane than the cannon, which in its inception, "when it first struck down the mail-clad knight," was no less fiercely denounced as a violation of "the laws of war."

The supreme problem attempted was "to convert the straw of the fields, and the wood of the forests, into edible materials," but though measurably successful for beasts, this proved impossible for man. However, the war, even so, must have been lost, it is conceded, unless Faust's magic horn, from which countless human beings issued, could have been discovered and utilized to offset the millions of young Americans rushing into the fray.

At this point the speaker has little time left to discuss inventions since 1918. Peace the speaker regards as the opportunity to work out the lessons war has taught. The largest economic accomplishment of chemistry, thus far, is to bring the nitrogen-production up to an equality, if not superiority, to that of Chili. This brings the prospect that the agriculture of Germany may yet become adequate to feed the entire population.

Another step of progress illustrates the connection between the work of war and of peace.

The smoke-wreaths of our warships betrayed them at a long distance to the enemy. The removal of the smoke by electricity, a device borrowed from the United States before the war, was developed by us to a point that solved this problem. Then its use was given up. The enemy would quickly have imitated it, and the U-boat warfare made the alien smoke-wreaths more useful to us than the smokeless progress of our own warships. But the lesson of war was developed later. A hundred home factories now separate the dust-like portion of the smoke, which was not only useless but harmful to the neighboring fields, and it has become a valuable by-product, especially for use in the sulphuric acid industries.

The nationalistic rather than scientific purpose grows even clearer at the close. The loss of Alsace Lorraine and Upper Silesia is described as depriving half the nation of its proper task; upon which follows the peroration:

Vainly does the prisoner tug at his chains with unarmed hands. Only the rust of time gnaws away the iron that holds him. That he be not humbled nor broken, but return clear-eyed, in that hour, to the place of his heritage, he must owe to the life of spirit, which knows no chains.

"He that endureth to the end shall be crowned," says the Bible.

It seems worth while to add here, as a further crosslight on the actual state of the German mind, an extract from the much longer and very different article that follows it—a really historical and instructive essay by Albert Dresdner on the progress in comprehension of alien peoples. Yet the two converge almost to the same point, each with its epigrammatic finale.

If now, in our blessed twentieth century, after this idea of a better understanding of each other has been cherished, developed and furthered by so many generations, we fix our eyes, without prejudice, on

the present state of things, we cannot but see that the whole field has become transformed by the World War into a mass of ruins. It is obvious, but, to my mind, hasty and inaccurate, to lay the burden of this condition on the war itself, as its inevitable result. . . . It could even be demonstrated from history that violent collisions between nations have, not rarely, brought a closer acquaintance and cultural interchange between them. But with the World War is associated a wholly new phenomenon—namely, the attempt entered upon, with the most unscrupulous determination on the one side, to rob a whole people of its honor, to deny its achievements, its very right to existence, to cast it out of the community of nations. I could perhaps cite only one like event, and that is the attitude of England during the Napoleonic era.

A comparison which the writer's sense of justice compels him to withdraw at once, because England, at the first and second fall of Napoleon, her avowed arch-enemy, led in utmost magnanimity to prostrate France and her hereditary sovereign.

Public Playgrounds in the Chilean Capital

THERE has recently come to the offices of this periodical from the American Ambassador to Chile, Hon. William Miller Collier, a profusely illustrated brochure relative to the public playgrounds recently established in Santiago. The descriptive material is in large part from the pen of the Mayor of the Chilean capital, Señor Rogelio Ugarte, to whose untiring efforts is due in no small measure the completion of this estimable public work. Señor Ugarte, in outlining the motives which underlay the inception of the undertaking, says:

Immediately after I became Mayor of Santiago, at the beginning of the year 1923, the President of the Republic, Don Arturo Alessandri, spoke to me in favor of a beautiful idea proposed by the distinguished Dr. Señorita Cora Mayers, referring to the installation in our capital of playgrounds for children, such as she had been able to inspect and admire in the cities of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, on the occasion of her journey to Rio de Janeiro, completed in September of the previous year.

I could do no less than to hearken to such a proposition with accentuated enthusiasm, for to me also had fallen the good fortune to see how in all the streets of Montevideo the children made themselves happy in the midst of parks or playgrounds of all kinds and how, at the same time, directed by competent instructors, they developed their little bodies, with great benefit to their health. And I took into account, especially, in receiving such a happy suggestion, the sad life which our children lead, among the miseries and the vitiated air of the houses of the poor or in the spaciousness of the great mansions, and their poor physique, due to the lack of exercise and games.

Having these considerations in mind and with the desire to bring the assistance of the Mayor's office and the display of all my energy and activity to the better preparation of my country's men of tomorrow, I promised His Excellency, the President of the Republic, and Dr. Señorita Mayers to bring to completion in Santiago the installation of those beautiful children's playgrounds which are the most effective ornament of the streets of Montevideo.

A few days afterward he was appointed by the Scholastic Beneficent Association, at the suggestion of Dr. Mayers, as president of a commission having for its object the consideration of plans and the supervision of the work of constructing the playgrounds. (The Scholastic Beneficent Association is devoted particularly to child culture.) This commission was composed of distinguished citizens of Santiago who agreed with marked enthusiasm to coöperate fully in the realization of the idea.

At its first meeting on May 7, 1923, it was agreed to construct three such health centers at convenient points in the city, to solicit the assistance of the principal business houses and interested persons and to perfect plans for the projected work. The Mayor, on his part, promised to obtain from the municipality the necessary authorization for the occupation of the selected sites. This was granted on the 24th of May, the project was applauded unreservedly by the press and many new offers of assistance were received.

The business firms, to whom appeal had been made, responded nobly with donations of material and money. Enough apparatus was given to meet nearly all the needs of the first playground, which was opened with an enthusiastic celebration in September of last year.

Since that time three other parks have been constructed in Santiago with funds supplied by private individuals or organizations. The experience gained in this construction has shown that all such parks ought to be divided into sections for boys and girls and for the larger and smaller children, and that basket-ball and volley-ball courts ought to be provided,

as well as baths, dressing-rooms and a swimming-pool, if possible. The latter, however, should be made inaccessible to the very young children, because of the obvious peril of drowning, to which they might be exposed. There is, of course, the usual apparatus for amusement purposes, such as swings, see-saws, slides, etc., and usually a kiosk for band concerts and open spaces for games of skill or for dancing.

A petition was directed by Señor Ugarte to the mayors of cities and towns throughout the country, and there has been a marked response in following the example set by Santiago.

Radio Telephony for the Blind

WHILE much has been done in recent years both here and abroad to ameliorate the conditions of the blind, much still remains to be done. It is true that many of the world's famous classics are now obtainable in Braille, but after all one cannot support an intellectual life nowadays on Braille alone. We have only to remember what a great part is played in the lives of most of us by the knowledge of current events gained from newspapers, weeklies and monthly magazines, to realize the force of this. A German university professor, Dr. Gustav Gaertner, has had the brilliant idea that certain definite hours—preferably the early morning hours—should be devoted to broadcasting for the blind. A single speaker could thus reach all of the blind and the near-blind throughout an enormous area. Writing in the *Umschau* (Frankfurt) he suggests that the matter to be broadcast might be decided upon as the result of a Round Robin addressed to the blind persons themselves. He continues:

In my own opinion the first thing to be chosen would be information of the important political and other current events whose knowledge normal persons obtain from the newspapers. Then perhaps, too, short selections of political matter or of popular science. With respect to politics it goes without saying that care should be taken to avoid partisanship. Various views should be given. All of this might easily be accomplished in a single hour. A second hour might be given to good literature. Short stories of both serious and humorous nature should be read and likewise novels and dramas. Modern and classic literature should be given alternately. Perhaps it would even be pos-

sible to devote a third hour to the blind (an early evening hour might be employed, perhaps) in which science should be given. Works of outstanding importance in scientific literature, books which every cultivated person desires to read, should be selected and would bring to the blind cultivation, comprehension and new interests.

Dr. Gaertner reminds us that such a service would appeal not only to those who are totally blind, but to many other persons who, suffering from cataract in its early stages, or from some other defect of vision rendering it painful or injurious to use the eyes unreservedly, would grasp eagerly at such a means of supplementing their failing vision. As an instance in point he writes:

I know an octogenarian who was formerly a teacher and who since the death of his wife has been completely alone. Life was supportable so long as he was able to read books and papers. But the beginning of an old age cataract, unfortunately non-operable, has cut him off from this single tie with the external world. Now he sits alone waiting often for day after day till some kind-hearted visitor shares with him a few crumbs of the news of the day and current politics. What a transformation would such "Radio Hours for the Blind" work in the life of this old man, who has taught thousands to read and who now is no longer able to read himself. The old teacher is not the only near-blind person of my acquaintance who would hail such an opportunity as a release from intellectual darkness. Technicians would have to decide whether Germany and Austria could be served from a single station. The radio waves cross the borders without paying toll or needing passes and visés.

Many persons possessed of good eyes would gladly subscribe to such a service for their afflicted fellow-citizens.

New Studies of Protoplasm

THE ultimate secrets of the life processes are to be sought in the chemical and physical reactions constantly taking place in the cells of living creatures. So varied and complex are these, however, and so minute is the cell within whose walls they are confined, that their study is one of infinite delicacy and difficulty. Nevertheless a host of zealous workers have thrown themselves enthusiastically into the task, both here and in the leading countries of Europe. One of the most fertile fields of investigation is that of the various ferments which function within the protoplasm. It was as recently as 1896 that Buchner isolated the first known ferment, Zymase, a yellowish powder obtained from the fermentation produced by the yeast plant. Since then numerous other ferments have been recognized and more or less perfectly isolated. It has since been shown, however, that Zymase itself consists of several ferments, while Ruvner has proved that only a small part of the fermentation caused by living yeast is due to the Zymase contained. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that two or more ferments are required to produce a mutual reaction; for example, the pepsin of the gastric juice is able to dissolve albumen only in the presence of hydrochloric acid. The recent work along these lines is admirably presented by H. W. Behm, in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart), an abstract of which we present:

Since Emil Fischer and his school undertook to penetrate more deeply into the mysterious domain of the albumenoids, it is probably only a question of time when we shall be able to build up true albuminous bodies outside the living organism, which will, at least, correspond in structure to that of the dead organism. It is only through such studies, apparently, that we can hope to explain the processes of respiration and of assimilation and of the elaboration of carbon dioxide in plants.

A successful attempt has already been made to produce without the assistance of the living cell, hydrocarbons by the action of U. V. rays on water containing carbon dioxide in the presence of alkalies; by this artificial process there was produced not only formaldehyde, the simplest hydrocarbon (CH_2O), but even sugar.

The recent investigations regarding the nature and reactions of the colloids (*i. e.*, non-crystalline substances, such as glue and gelatine) possess a really extraordinary significance in this connection. Some authorities, indeed, hold that the origin of life

itself is to be found in the formation of colloidal complexes of molecules or particles of albumenoids which have been synthetically formed. Perhaps it is well here to discuss the correct definition of the word colloids. Until quite recently chemists based their idea of the difference between crystals and colloids merely upon the solubility or insolubility of a solid substance, or a liquid in another liquid. For example, salt is soluble in water, and sulphur though not soluble in water is soluble in carbon disulphide. The latter is likewise insoluble in water and miscible with water. However, an intimate mixture of two bodies can be attained by rubbing or shaking them together so that they are apparently dissolved in each other. But in such a case we have merely a suspension, in the case of a finely divided solid shaken up with the liquid or an emulsion when two liquids are shaken together; a good example of the former is ferric tannate in ink and of the latter the familiar case of cream milk. That neither a suspension nor an emulsion is a true solution, is readily seen from the fact that when allowed to stand the particles of one of the two intermingled substances tend to fall to the bottom (or to rise to the top), but it is now known that lying between genuine solutions and apparent solutions there are various intermediate processes, and it is these transition processes which are characteristic of colloids.

Colloidal means literally glue-like (*collum*—glue). In many cases even supposedly true solutions are seen by examination through the ultramicroscope with appropriate lateral illumination, to consist of minute particles of one substance floating in the other, and even where the ultramicroscope fails to reveal the condition of suspension, what are known as ultra-filtration processes lay the secret bare. Such processes, for example, show this to be true of a dextrin "solution." Another method of arriving at such a result is centrifugation. By this means Lobry de Bruin succeeded in demonstrating differences of concentration in a sugar solution, the heavier sugar being thrown to the circumference. When colloids are so intermingled with water that their particles, though minute, are sufficiently large to be retained by animal and vegetable membranes, this condition is called a "sol." By various means, such as boiling or the addition of salt, this "sol" can be transformed into a "gel" which retains more or less water.

Protoplasm is a colloid which contains varying degrees of water. It forms the foundation of every living cell. As a gen-

eral thing each cell contains one or more nuclei. In general terms life is characterized by the presence of various organic compounds, such as fats, carbohydrates, albumenoids, vitamins, etc., especially characteristic of protoplasm being albumenoid or protein substances. An essential constituent of protoplasm is plastin, to-

gether with other albumenoids such as albumens, globulins, fibrins, nuclins, and so forth.

Protoplasm is not only an extremely complex substance with respect to the materials of which it is composed, but it is also a complex chemical system in a state of constant flux, with the unceasing breaking down and building up of molecules.

Transplanting Eyes on Living Animals

ENORMOUS interest has been aroused both abroad and in this country by the experimental transplanting of the eyes of living animals recently accomplished by the brilliant young Hungarian biologist, Theodor Koppányi. Mr. Koppányi is now in this country continuing his work in an American institution, but his first experiments were made under the direction of Professor Przibram at the famous Przibram laboratory in Vienna. Here Mr. Koppányi succeeded in transplanting the eyes of one rat into the head of another and not only did the visual organs accommodate themselves to their new quarters, so far as physiological growth is concerned, but also recovered their function of vision after the healing of the wound. It is not surprising that the announcements of these results were received in some quarters with considerable scepticism, Koppányi's critics declaring themselves unconvinced that the transplanted eyes really retained their power of sight.

In answer to these critics Professor Przibram, who is one of the most distinguished authorities on comparative physiology in Europe, recently contributed a detailed account of the investigation and its results to the *Rivista di Biologia* (Rome). We quote from an abstract of this article which appears in the *Revue Générale de Science* (Paris):

Koppányi's discovery is not a matter of chance but is the result of a long series of researches undertaken by different men and covering the last twenty years. Early in the century Pardo transplanted the eyes of Tritons and Uhlenhuth grafted the eyes of salamanders on their own back. In both these cases the eye reformed its connection and continued to live but it was not possible to affirm that the transplanted eyes were capable of sight.

Koppányi experimented not only with such lower animals as frogs, fishes and Tritons but also with mammals—rats and rabbits. In the case of the rats the grafted eyes were found to have reestablished normal nerve connections in the course of a

few days. But it remained to be demonstrated that the optical nerve had recovered its functional power in its new location. Various experiments were made by Koppányi and his colleagues to test this, such as the following:

(1) The rats with grafted eyes when exposed suddenly to a bright light fled from it into dark corners exactly like normal rats, whereas rats which had been blinded paid no attention to the light; evidently, therefore, luminous sensations were perceived by the animals which had been operated upon and by means of an ingenious device it was proved that the effect was produced by the light alone and not by heat.

(2) Blinded fishes and Batrachians were incapable of finding food and perished of starvation, whereas animals into whose heads eyes had been grafted fed themselves like their normal companions, i.e., chasing and seizing their prey.

(3) Since it might be supposed that blinded rats might seek their food purely by the sense of smell, a special experiment was instituted:—Both normal rats and those which had been operated upon were trained to recognize food vessels by means of their form and color alone. Both the rats possessing natural vision and those whose eye sockets contained grafted eyes learned to distinguish between vessels of different shapes and colors so as to go to the ones containing food, whereas blinded rats remained unable to tell the difference.

(4) Normal rats when placed upon a shelf leaped to the ground and the higher the shelf the more eager they were to get down from it; the animals with grafted eyes behaved in exactly the same manner, but the blinded rats clung to the shelf no matter what its position.

These experiments are certainly most convincing, but they were further confirmed by a histological study made by an expert histologist, Mr. Kolmer, whose observations demonstrated that the retina of the grafted eyes had established a connection with the fibers of the optic nerve; moreover he demonstrated the presence of certain anatomical elements proving that the eyes were capable of perceiving light.

Such brilliant results as these obtained not only in vertebrates but in mammals, naturally raised the thrilling question as to whether such transplantation can ever be successfully accomplished in the case of

man. It is generally considered by physiologists that the optical nerve as well as all the other cranial nerves is incapable of being regenerated but the author expresses a doubt as to the truth of this assumption. He points out that certain invertebrates are capable of regenerating a ganglion of the brain, that the larvæ of amphibious animals can regenerate an entire eye, and that a certain regenerative power has been observed in the brain of the higher vertebrates. He therefore thinks it allowable to assume that a nerve issuing directly from the brain as does the optic nerve, will behave like the cerebral substance. This, however, remains to be demonstrated by future experiment.

Koppanyi's experiments were more successful in adult than in young rats; in the former the propor-

tion of successes which was 5 per cent. at the beginning increased to 25 per cent. after a year of experiment; Koppanyi hopes to do still better and thinks it is not over bold to look forward to the successful transplantation at some future day of human eyes. Naturally, a prime obstacle herein would be the difficulty of obtaining material for experiment. Possibly, however, the eyes of the primates might be borrowed for the benefit of their close relative man. Koppanyi is encouraged in this view by his success in grafting the eye of the mouse into the eye socket of a member of a different species, namely, of a rat.

An important circumstance must be noted, however, in this connection. In the case in question both the mouse and the rat were white—in other words being Albinos the eyes contained no pigment and after repeated experiment Koppanyi was never able to obtain a durable result in grafting the eyes of a rat even on another rat, when the eyes were of two different colors. In experiments upon men it would be advisable and probably indispensable that the color of the original eye and of the grafted eye should be the same.

American Plans for Harnessing the Tides

MUCH has been heard since the close of the World War of projects on foot in Europe for utilizing the power of ocean tides to generate electricity. The British Government has made a prolonged study of the possibilities of such an undertaking on the River Severn, the tides of which are said to be capable of yielding half a million horsepower of useful energy. Large-scale projects of the same sort have made much progress in France. In America, though tide mills have long been used for the direct driving of machinery, the generation of electricity by this process is a virgin field. At the beginning of the present year a small electric plant driven by tidal power was put in operation at East Saugus, near Lynn, Mass. A far more ambitious undertaking was foreshadowed in an application for a permit filed recently with the Federal Power Commission: viz., the utilization of the famous tidal bore of the Bay of Fundy. The scene of the proposed undertaking lies on both sides of the international boundary line between the United States and Canada, and according to Mr. René Bache, who publishes the details in the *Popular Science Monthly*, it is probably the first really practical plan for a large-scale tide-power development in this country, although the principle is by no means novel.

In the Bay of Fundy the difference in level between high and low tide amounts at a maximum to about forty-five feet. This

means a tremendous head of water available for power production. The writer says:

The plans include the building of four dams, with a total length of five miles, across the outlet of Passamaquoddy Bay and Head Harbor, thereby creating two pools, upper and lower, with a power house between.

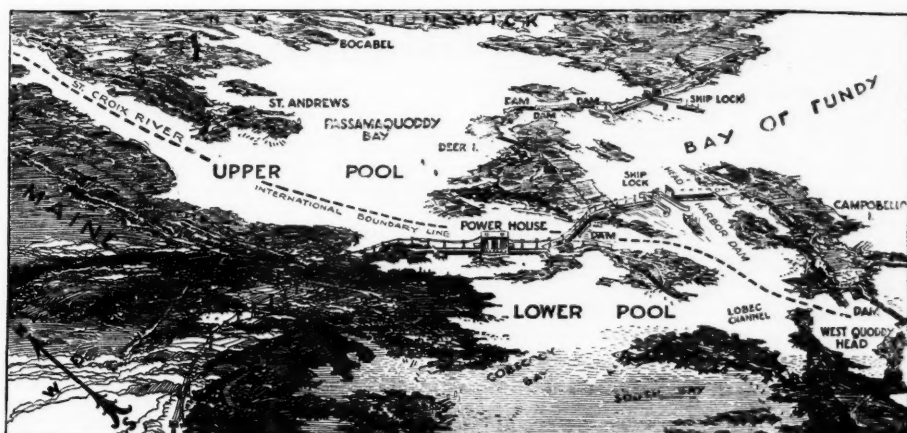
It is proposed to install a system of gates that will permit the flood-tide to pour into the upper pool, and allow the lower pool to empty itself at ebb-tide. By this arrangement a stream equal in volume to the Niagara River will be poured continuously through the power house, driving turbines that are expected to generate enough electricity to supply a large part of Maine and Eastern Canada.

The tides in the Bay of Fundy rise and fall through a range of from 35 to 45 feet—one of the greatest tidal ranges in the world. At the power house an "operating head"—never less than 16 feet and running as high as 27 feet—will be maintained. From 400,000 to 500,000 continuous electrical horsepower will be developed.

The upper pool, about 16 miles long by 10 miles wide, will be separated from the lower by a dam between the Maine shore and Deer Island—the power house to be close by this dam—and by two dams connecting Deer Island with the New Brunswick mainland and Campobello Island, respectively. A fourth dam, to impound the lower pool, will bridge the gap between Campobello Island and West Quoddy Head.

The lower pool will be somewhat less in area than the upper one. Locks are to be provided at the dams connecting Deer Island with Campobello Island and the mainland of New Brunswick, permitting ships to pass from one pool to the other.

The flood at each rising tide will be allowed to pour through opened gates, filling the upper pool. During the rise it will drive the turbines at the power dam. During the ebb the lower pool will be permitted to empty itself into the ocean, while a



A BIRD'S-EYE MAP, SHOWING THE PROPOSED TIDAL POWER PROJECT IN THE BAY OF FUNDY

(By a series of dams, two pools, upper and lower, would be created, with a power house between them. The rising tide would be permitted to pour through a system of gates, driving the turbines at the power plant, and filling the upper pool. During ebb-tide the lower pool would be permitted to empty itself into the sea, while a stream equal in volume to a great river would pour out of the upper pool through the power house, continuing the drive of the turbines. The plan simply is an elaboration of the primitive New England tide mill illustrated below. It would supply electricity to Maine and eastern Canada)

stream equal in volume to a large river pours out of the upper pool through the power house, driving the turbines.

The turbines will operate huge dynamos. And, since the supply of power will be continuous, there will be no pause by day or night in the production of electricity, which will be distributed by wires over a vast area for industrial and domestic uses.

Concerning tidal power in general Mr. Bache writes:

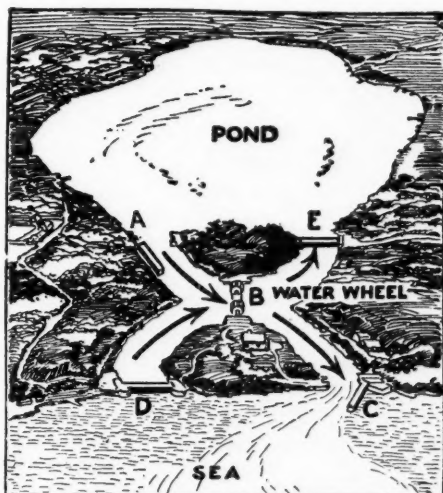
The tides represent unlimited power going to waste. But tide-power developments are practicable only where the tide enters an estuary and, with a piling up of the water, rushes up a channel. This phenomenon, conspicuously illustrated in the Bay of Fundy, is called a "tidal bore."

Developments for the utilization of tidal power are in practice limited to localities where natural facilities are favorable for creating tidal basins, where portions of the flow can be impounded and controlled, and where conditions are suitable for the erection of power plants similar in character to hydro-electric stations.

All this, of course, applies to large-scale developments. Small tide mills were in use in England as early as the eleventh century, and also in Brittany. In a simple form, such an installation can be made by placing the power plant between two channels connecting the sea with a reservoir basin, as in the New England power mill. One channel is closed while the basin is filling; the other while the basin is emptying. The flow can be utilized coming and going.

The water-wheel, which dates far back in history, almost undoubtedly was a Chinese invention. Probably the same is true of the tide mill. At present there are many such mills in China, located on small tidal creeks, and used for cleaning and "polishing" rice.

What has been accomplished for so many years, by primitive methods and with the help of equally primitive apparatus, certainly can be achieved, in the light of modern scientific knowledge, with the wonderful hydro-electric machinery already in use.



HOW THE SIMPLE NEW ENGLAND TIDE MILL OPERATES

(A small pond serving as a reservoir is connected with the sea by two channels that cross each other. A water-wheel is placed at the intersection of the channels. During the outflow of the tide, the gates at A and C open, as above, supplying current to the water-wheel B. At the same time the gates at D and E automatically close. During the influx the gates at A and C close, and D and E open, producing a flow through the wheel in the same direction as before. Thus the power is continuous during both phases of the tides)

A Notable Fund of Highway Statistics

"THE history of the modern highway," says Mr. J. Gordon McKay, in his preliminary report on the Connecticut Highway Transportation Survey, published in *Public Roads* (Washington, D. C.), "is so brief, and its growth has been so rapid, that there is an amazingly meager body of authentic evidence from which we can measure its economic value or determine its economic sphere of operation as a correlated part of our transportation system."

The survey above mentioned was an important step in the direction of supplying such evidence for one part of the country, and will serve as a model for similar undertakings elsewhere. It was carried out by the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads in co-operation with the Connecticut State Highway Commission, and lasted a year, from September, 1922, to September, 1923. Nothing approaching it in scope had been attempted previously. Most highway transportation surveys merely record for a brief period the number and type of vehicles operating over a highway system. In the case under discussion:

(1) Intensive data, including detailed motor-truck information, were recorded at eight key stations.

(2) Extensive data were recorded at fifty-six stations, divided into eight districts, with one intensive weighing station as the nucleus of the extensive recording stations in each district.

The combination of intensive and extensive data insures a reasonably accurate measure of highway transportation.

Weight scales were operated at the eight intensive stations one week every two months. The extensive recording stations were operated one day each month. By moving from station to station on a regular schedule of operation seasoned variations of traffic were observed.

The following is a brief résumé of the principal types of information recorded at the eight intensive and the fifty-six extensive traffic stations.

Intensive Traffic Stations.—Density of traffic; motor-truck makes; capacity; trips per week; trip time; origin; destination; commodity; type of shipment; whether pick-up-and-delivery or terminal-to-terminal; net and gross weights; State of license; packing and crating of commodities; tire data; regular and irregular motor-truck operators.

Extensive Traffic Stations.—For passenger vehicles.—Density; State of license; passengers per vehicle; business or nonbusiness usage; origin; destination and mileage.

For Motor Trucks.—Density; State of license; make; capacity; commodity; trips per week; trip time; origin; destination and mileage.

The data recorded in the field at the intensive and extensive stations were forwarded to the U. S.

Bureau of Public Roads at Washington and after the material was coded and organized it was punched on tabulating cards. It would be impossible to analyze successfully the enormous volume of traffic records without making use of the mechanical sorting and tabulating machines.

Although the results set forth in Mr. McKay's article are described as preliminary, and are mainly derived from observations for only three months of the total period, they constitute an impressive body of facts, from which we can present but a few selections here:

Passenger traffic averages 2.5 persons per vehicle and 45.1 miles per car per trip.

Thirty-five per cent. of the passenger movement is primarily for business purposes and 65 per cent. for nonbusiness purposes.

Passenger business traffic averages 1.7 passengers per car and the nonbusiness traffic 3 passengers per car with an average trip mileage of 29.7 miles for the business and 55.5 miles for the nonbusiness traffic.

Twenty-three and five-tenths per cent. of the passenger mileage in the State is for business purposes and 76.5 per cent. is for nonbusiness purposes.

The peak of the highway movement occurs in this State in October and the minimum is reached in February, when motor-truck transportation is 40 per cent. and passenger traffic is 70 per cent. lower than the October movement.

Motor-truck traffic reaches the daily minimum at 4 a. m., from which time it increases to a first peak between 10 a. m. and 12 o'clock noon and a second peak between 2 and 4 p. m., decreasing rapidly after 5 p. m.

The night movement of motor trucks consists largely of long-distance traffic in special commodities hauled in trucks of large capacity with heavy net loads.

The percentage of overloads is considerably greater at night than during the daylight hours.

Twenty-nine and six-tenths per cent. of the trucks operated over the highways of the State were loaded in excess of their rated capacity, but this percentage represented a considerable improvement over the condition observed in 1921, a fact that is attributed to the enforcement of the traffic laws of the State.

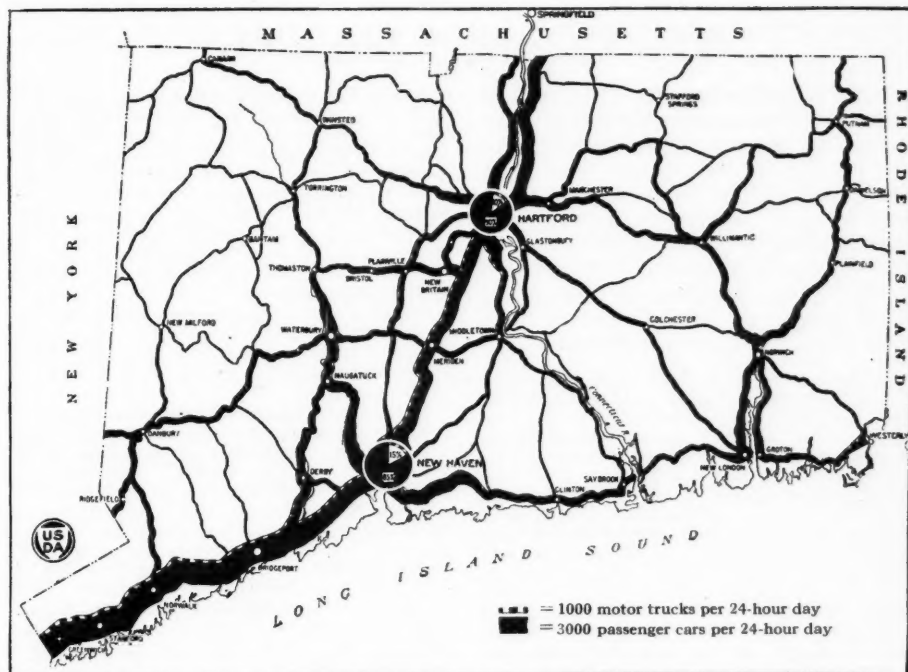
The average net load per vehicle is greater in solid-tired trucks of all capacities than in pneumatic-tired vehicles.

The net loads carried on extra-State trucks average greater than the net loads carried by Connecticut trucks.

The use of the Connecticut highway system by foreign trucks, on a ton-mile basis, is greater than the use by Connecticut trucks.

Of the tonnage moved by motor truck, 36.9 per cent. was hauled from 1 to 9 miles, 30.5 per cent. from 10 to 29 miles, and 32.6 per cent. 30 miles or more.

Of the motor trucks, 78.6 per cent. operate on trips of from 1 to 29 miles and transport 67.4 per



AVERAGE DAILY MOVEMENT OF MOTOR TRUCKS AND PASSENGER CARS ON THE CONNECTICUT HIGHWAY SYSTEM

cent. of the total net tonnage; beyond 29 miles 21.4 per cent. of the motor trucks transport 32.6 per cent. of the total net tonnage.

One-third of the movement of trucks is an empty movement and two-thirds loaded.

Of the tonnage transported over the roads of the State, 81.5 per cent. originates in the State.

Of the commodities transported by motor truck in the State, 73.6 per cent. may be classified as manufactured articles.

The bulk of motor-truck shipment in Connecticut is of the character of short-haul transportation and does not compete with the business of the railroads.

Of the tonnage, 75 per cent. is transported under contract between shippers and truck operators.

The fact that motor-truck rates may be below the level of rail rates constitutes a factor secondary in importance to rapid delivery and trade demands in determining the manufacturer's method of shipment.

The improvement of rail-service beyond the 30-mile haul has resulted in a decreased use of motor trucks in the long haul, except for a few specialized commodities.

Actual or potential competition of motor-trucking companies with rail or water services is an incentive to both rail and water operating companies to provide effective transportation.

One of the advantages of rural transportation of freight by motor truck is convenience of pick-up-to-delivery service. Figures show that 80.5 per cent. of the motor trucks handle 70.5 per cent. of the net commodity tonnage in door-to-door delivery. Motor-truck transportation from terminal to de-

livery ranks second in importance, 9.6 per cent. of the motor trucks handling 14.7 per cent. of the net commodity tonnage.

Apart from the statistical results of the survey, the author gives us an abundance of interesting information concerning the conditions of automotive transportation on the New England highways. The following, for example, is one of the many illuminating passages in the report:

Motor trucking at present is loosely organized, keenly competitive, operating largely on a contract basis, with rapid fluctuation in rates and with a gradual development of larger motor-trucking companies which will ultimately insure stability of service and rates. A difficult problem is met in applying the principle of government regulation of common carriers to motor-truck companies engaged in the transportation of freight in New England. At the present time approximately 75 per cent. of the motor-truck tonnage is transported under contract agreement between the shippers and motor-truck operators. These contracts, oral or written, fix the rate per hundred pounds of freight for definite periods, and the rates may vary for each individual shipper. The regulation by governmental agencies of motor-truck transportation of freight under agreements of this nature may be open to doubt. This question, however, has not been finally passed upon by the courts and until it is so decided there can be no authoritative determination of it.

The Vanishing Musk Ox

COMMENTING in the *Youth's Companion* (Boston) on the recent statement of an observer from the far North that, "not more than one hundred musk oxen remain alive on the mainland of North America," Dr. William T. Hornaday advises all young people to become acquainted now with the musk ox while it is possible to find a few living specimens. Some points in Dr. Hornaday's description of this rare beast will interest older readers as well:

Of all the strange animals of North America the musk ox is one of the queerest and most interesting. First of all, it is a true connecting link between wild cattle and sheep. It challenges our keen admiration because it is able to live and thrive in the fiercely-cold arctic regions, even up to the farthest north for hoofed animals, the most northerly point of Greenland. It has horns like the wild Cape buffalo of Africa, cattle-like hoofs, and its flesh looks and tastes like beef. It has next its body a dense coat of soft, clean woolly hair, and through this grows a rain coat of very long, straight brown hair like that of the Tibetan yak. It has a tail so short and small that the animal seems tailless. Its supply of "musk" and its "musky" odor are both wholly imaginary.

The intelligence of the musk ox is by turns adequate and defective. It does not fully know the dangerous character of man, and it does not know that every wild animal not under protection should fly from the presence of man. For thousands of years the musk-ox herds have been preserving their calves from the hungry wolf packs of the north by most excellent military strategy. When wolves threaten a herd it at once forms a compact circle, with the adult bulls and cows standing shoulder to shoulder in the outer circle, and with all the calves and young stock inside.

Even to hungry wolves with time a-plenty that circle of deadly down-dropping horns is impregnable. A bull may leave his place for a moment, to rush out thirty yards or so in an effort to puncture a wolf, but he never is lured too far. "Back he goes to the circle, backs into his place and plays the game to the end."

Now, although that plan is exceedingly wise in

defense against wolves, with man as the enemy it is fatal. It means the easy shooting down of the entire herd! Is it not too bad? The musk ox only dimly realizes the deadliness of man, and, worst of all, he has not yet learned that the Eskimo and the Indian now have deadly repeating rifles instead of old-fashioned spears. When a man is sighted in the offing, either at one mile or at three, the herd should rush off at top speed in the opposite direction and run for about five miles. I wish I could give *Ootibos* a tip on that point.

Now, is there anyone who holds that in forming his defensive wolf-proof circle the musk ox does not think and reason? I hope not. The wild animal that attempts to live in the far North must either think or die!

For nearly fifty years the killing of the musk ox has been proceeding on a determined scale. And what is the most striking result up to date? It is nothing less than the complete disappearance, or extinction, of the Barren Ground species all the way from the longitude of Point Barrow, Alaska, to about longitude 100°, which means the head of Chesterfield Inlet. This area of extermination is precisely fifteen hundred miles long from east to west! We know that the musk-ox herds once lived as far west as the meridian of Point Barrow, Alaska, because Mr. Charles D. Drower, who lives at that point, recently sent me some musk-ox skulls, horns and hair to prove it.

This tale of extermination during the past seventy-five years has been wrought by the coast Eskimo and Indian tribes, with help from white men through the traffic in skins. It rarely has happened in our own time that savages have exterminated their own wild-animal food supply. The Indians chiefly concerned, east of the Mackenzie River, are the Dog-Rib and Yellow-Knife tribes; and they have virtually finished their work.

To-day it is the coast Eskimos that are killing the last musk ox on the mainland of North America. It was one of the coast Eskimo clans of that region that recently murdered the two white explorers, Mr. Harry V. Radford of New York and Mr. Street of Canada.

The late Dr. C. Gordon Hewitt, of Canada, has published in his new book, "The Conservation of the Wild Life of Canada," this startling statement:

"The remaining herds of musk ox are now restricted on the mainland to the region between Chesterfield Inlet and Back's River." This area is approximately one hundred miles by three hundred, and the total number of survivors there recently has been estimated at "less than one hundred."

All this brings us squarely up to the question of the preservation or the extinction of the two musk-ox species of North America, the arctic islands and Greenland.

The answer to the musk-ox question rests one-tenth with Denmark and nine-tenths with Canada. We of the United States are out of it.



THE MUSK OX, AS SKETCHED BY CHARLES LIVINGSTON BULL

News from Nature's World

The Parasol Tree

SOME interesting investigations have recently been carried out with respect to the economic value of the parasol tree. This must not be confused with the parasol fir, or umbrella fir, which is a native of Japan and whose name comes from the disposition of the mass of its foliage. The parasol tree, whose botanical name is *Musanga smithii*, belongs to the nettle family and is a native of East Africa, where it grows plentifully at various altitudes up to 1,000 metres above sea level. Its name comes from its huge leaves, which resemble those of the horse chestnut, but each of which is capable of covering an area which may be roughly estimated as twenty inches square. The wood is soft, white, and so light in weight that the natives employ it instead of cork to float their fishing nets or to support denser wood on the surface of the water. In a late number of *Agronomie Coloniale* Messrs. Bertin and Bretonnet state the results of their researches, which were carried out by the methods employed in the Laboratoire des Arts et Metiers and the Laboratoire de l'Aviation.

The natives call the tree the *combo-combo* and eat the fleshy fruit that it bears. It grows readily either from seed or cuttings. In the former case a tree will attain a height of $6\frac{1}{2}$ metres, with a diameter of 13 centimetres at the base, within eighteen months, while cuttings develop even more rapidly. Cutting can begin in the third year and it is estimated that a harvest of 100 cubic metres per hectare (one hectare is nearly two and one-half acres) can be gathered every three years. Its greatest field of usefulness probably lies in the production of paper pulp, of which it yields 50 per cent. of the dry pulp.

The Fossil Sea Urchin and Its Myth

In northern Germany fossil examples of the sea urchin are often found and are popularly known as toadstones. An old superstition which has lasted to the present day ascribes medicinal virtues to them, according to a writer in a late number of *Kosmos*. For this reason many humble folk guard them with religious care, but take pains never to touch them with the bare hand. They are considered especially helpful in eruptions on the face and to cure these

the lips of the sufferer are touched with the stone, while at the same time the scriptural text is recited, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The writer in *Kosmos* is of the opinion that the name toadstone has some vague reference to the stone supposed to be found in the head of the toad, to which miraculous powers are likewise ascribed. Possibly, too, it was originally called a Wodan stone, i.e., a stone sacred to the ancient Teutonic god, Wodan.

The Effect of Lead on Plants

Strange to say, metal lead, which is so poisonous to the human body, is not so to plants. Not until recently has the reason for this been known. Experiments made by the Danish scientist Hevesy of Copenhagen have yielded some interesting results. Bean plants were placed, roots and all, after being carefully cleansed, in a solution of lead nitrate. Different amounts of lead varying with the strength of the solution were absorbed, says a writer in the *Umschau* (Frankfurt).

When a litre of the solution contains sufficient of the lead salt to make the contents of lead amount to about 21 grams, it was found that at the end of twenty-four hours the roots had absorbed only about 0.3 per cent. thereof. But if the solution were diluted one hundredfold, i.e., made extremely weak, it was found that the roots had taken up 60 per cent. of the lead, thus retaining much more of the metal. In the stronger solution, on the other hand, the largest amount of lead had passed into the stem and the leaves. This can be explained as follows:

In very dilute solutions the roots are capable of binding all, but in stronger solutions they are unable to do this, so that much lead passes on into the upper parts of the plant. Hence in low concentrations of lead the roots exercise a protective action. And this explains why lead is non-toxic to plants, since as a rule plants do not come in contact with strong solutions of lead salts.

The Curious Seed Pod of a European Plant

The interesting plant *Colutea arborescens*, a native of southern Europe, presents some interesting peculiarities. The young leaves which lie closely folded together are covered with hairs so as to present a downy appearance. If this covering becomes worn thin

when the plant reaches its full growth, a protecting layer of wax covers the under side of the leaf. A writer in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart) thus comments upon the plant:

It loves sunny slopes, especially on chalky soil, . . . but such soil does not hold moisture long; on this account the plant sheds a portion of its furred leaves and thus reduces its need for water by reducing the area of its leaf surface. In order to protect this sparse foliage from grazing animals the plant develops a disagreeable essence so powerful that it is used in household economy as a substitute for senna leaves. When the expanding twigs find their garment of bark too tight the latter splits but remains clinging to the stem in a sort of fringe which further protects the plant from too rapid evaporation. The *Colutea* produces clusters of yellow flowers shaped like pea blossoms continuing to bloom throughout the summer and until well in the fall.

These flowers, however, are inconspicuous. It is not until the balloon-shaped pods appear that it attracts attention. Even when ripe the seeds occupy hardly half the vacant space within the pod. The latter are like little balloons and remain hanging to the parent until after the coming of winter, when they are torn off by some chance wind and wafted gaily away until they burst and scatter the seed in new territory. The air pressure within these balloon-shaped pods is greater than that outside, even when they are still quite immature, as is shown by the fact that they pop under the pressure of the finger with a loud report, like that of a puffed-up paper bag.

How Long Can Animals Go Without Food?

The capacity of men and animals for fasting is always an interesting subject and one on which the last word has not been said, especially in view of the fact that our ideas as to the requisite essentials of diet have been much modified by the researches made during the last few years and particularly by our newly acquired knowledge of the part played by vitamins. Some curious facts with respect to the capacity for fasting as exhibited by various animals are cited by Siegmund Urafin in a late number of the *Umschau* (Frankfurt). He begins by observing:

The power of the camel to do without water for weeks and of the giant snakes to live for more than a year without taking food are regarded in most works on zoology as representing specific peculiarities of these animals. But if there were a general knowledge of the ability of many animals to fast for very long periods of time these instances would not be so over-emphasized. It is indeed generally known that

even mammals are able to fast for months during their winter hibernation, but it seems to be almost unknown among the lower animals. The power of fasting is much more wide spread in them than was formerly supposed.

Mr. Urafin then refers to an experience of his youth when he put certain snails which had already withdrawn into their shells and closed the opening thereof, as is their custom, into a box, whereupon he forgot them for a period of more than a year and a half. He supposed they were inevitably dead but when he put them into a vessel filled with water, much to his surprise, they came out of their shells and crawled gaily about on the table.

A fish, a pike, which had been bought for the table, was kept alive in a dish which was daily refilled with fresh water. Although the fish was given no food, it lived for more than a month. When it finally died it was prepared for the table, whereupon it was found that in spite of its long fast it was comparatively fat. But the gall bladder was astonishingly small and the intestines were filled with a peculiar green substance, from which I conclude that the fish died not of hunger but of some organic disease.

Biologic Energy and Temperature

Recent studies by biologists appear to indicate that the energy yielded by vital reaction is not influenced by the temperature, as one would naturally think. Even the energy produced by muscular contraction seems to be independent of temperature. The same thing seems to be true, says the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), of the energy produced by germination, adding:

It has been shown by experiment, as a matter of fact, that while temperature certainly affects the rapidity of development, it has no influence, strictly speaking, on the energy produced by the process of germination. Seeds of the same species were caused to germinate at two temperatures widely different—in some cases, indeed, one temperature was double or treble the other—and the yield of energy was measured by a special technique after the lapse of various periods of time. It was found that the energy produced at any age in the case of the peanut, varied from 51 to 56 (54 on the average) and in the case of the lentil from 60 to 65 (62.5 on the average). We have here a confirmation of the law formulated by Teroine and Wurmser, according to which "the utilizable energy of the reactions involved in biological phenomena does not vary perceptibly within such temperatures as are compatible with life."

This discovery ought to be of practical value to persons engaged in the raising of flowers or fruit under conditions where the temperature can be controlled, as in greenhouses.

THE NEW BOOKS

America and "Abroad"

The State of the Nation. By Albert J. Beveridge.
Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 276 pp.

In this volume former Senator Beveridge expresses his views upon a great number of problems with which our National Government is concerned. His introductory chapter, "In or Out," deals with our foreign relations and our time-honored policy of isolation. Here Mr. Beveridge states his objections to any attempt on the part of the United States to join the League of Nations or any organization of like purpose. His arguments on this question have had wide circulation, especially through the medium of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia). Well aware that his readers will be divided in sentiment on the matters discussed in this chapter, Mr. Beveridge adopts persuasive, rather than dogmatic forms of statement. In his comment on the powers of the Supreme Court and the so-called judicial negative, Mr. Beveridge especially commands assent, since it is well known that for many years, in connection with his elaborate studies of the career of John Marshall, he has familiarized himself with practically everything of importance that has been said on the subject. His whole effort in this treatment is to appeal to the reader's common-sense and spirit of fairness.

The Contrast. By Hilaire Belloc. Robert M. McBride & Company. 267 pp.

A brilliant study of America and the Americans by a shrewd British observer who, like his honored predecessor, the late Lord Bryce, passed much time in the United States before he attempted to tell his own countrymen what he had seen there. Mr. Belloc's thesis is as different as possible from that of the ordinary European visitor to our shores. He maintains that "the New World is wholly alien to the Old." It is the contrast between two civilizations—in politics, in religion, in letters, in the social structure and in the physical character of the land and people—that he presents in this book. He has written primarily for his own countrymen, but Americans will find his comments enlightening and frequently suggestive.

Our Foreign Affairs: a Study in National Interest and the New Diplomacy. By Paul Scott Mowrer. E. P. Dutton & Company. 348 pp.

As a trained newspaper correspondent and observer, Mr. Mowrer has come into close contact with the rough, hard facts of the recent international give-and-take in Europe. Therefore, in discussing America's place in the world, it is natural enough that he should be inclined to let the immediate achievement of practical ends take the place of a

striving for ultimate ideals. The purpose of his book is eminently practical. He feels, however, that the time has come when our traditional policy of isolation is distinctly opposed to the best interests of the country. Throughout the book he has in mind the changed international position which our country has taken since the Great War—a place of preëminent, political, financial and moral power.

America's Place in the World. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Company. 227 pp.

Dr. Gibbons represents that section of American public opinion which fails to see how anything useful could be accomplished by the United States joining the League of Nations. He is ready enough to admit that our own security and prosperity largely depend on the encouragement that we give to the world's peace and the promotion of international social and economic well-being. The question with him is not one of the end to be attained, but of the means of attaining it. So far as the League's activities are concerned, he finds that they have so far been directed to the adjustment of purely European questions in which we have no interests at stake. Under present conditions, he argues that this country could not be a member of the Council of the League of Nations without entering into a virtual alliance with certain European powers. He is interested in building up a constructive American policy.

One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine—1823-1923. By David Y. Thomas. Macmillan. 580 pp.

Professor Thomas summarizes in this book the history of our foreign relations for the past one hundred years, so far as they have centered about the Monroe Doctrine. He shows how the American policy of isolation formed the historic background of the Monroe policy, and then traces the history of the doctrine itself down through the decades to the Conferences of Paris, Washington and Santiago.

British-American Relations. By J. D. Whelpley. With an Introduction by George Harvey. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 325 pp.

Mr. Whelpley is an experienced newspaper correspondent, who has become interested during a rather protracted stay in England in seeing what can be done to bring about the hearty and practical coöperation of the two English-speaking nations. In this book he attempts what he calls an "exploration" into the present relations of the British and

American peoples as influenced by their conceptions of each other. He has chapters on "American Isolation," "The American Attitude Toward Europe," "The British Invasion of the United States" and on various practical aspects of British-American coöperation.

Five Years of European Chaos. By Maxwell H. H. Macartney. E. P. Dutton and Co. 242 pp.

In his capacity as special correspondent to the *London Times*, Mr. Macartney has been almost continuously engaged since the Armistice in observing the inner workings of European politics. No one is in a better position to supply a pen-picture of what has been going on in Europe during the past five years. It is safe to say that little has escaped him. A lively sense of humor is all that saves the narrative from the grimness of tragedy.

Men and Policies in Our Politics

The Life of Calvin Coolidge. By Horace Green. Duffield & Company. 263 pp.

Portions of this latest biography of the President have appeared during recent months in the *Forum* (New York). The biographer made it his business to visit the communities in Vermont and Massachusetts where Mr. Coolidge's whole life, prior to his nomination for the Vice-Presidency in 1920, had been passed. By meeting and interviewing as many as possible of Mr. Coolidge's old neighbors and friends he accumulated considerable material of personal interest. Mr. Green's story of Coolidge's Governorship, and especially of his much-debated relation to the Boston police strike, is based on a careful study of the facts as related by numerous witnesses. Frequent reference will no doubt be made to that part of the book during the coming Presidential campaign. The last two chapters of the book deal with developments at Washington since that day in August last when Mr. Coolidge was called to assume the duties of the Presidency, after the death of President Harding. The author deals frankly with the embarrassments of the Administration, and asks only for a fair and considerate judgment of the man at the helm.

Calvin Coolidge. By M. E. Hennessy. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 197 pp.

Mr. Hennessy has been for twenty-five years the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Globe*. He has always kept in close touch with Massachusetts politics, and has followed with special interest the rise of Calvin Coolidge from his initial successes in Northampton to his present place at the head of our national life. Knowing both State and national politics so intimately, Mr. Hennessy is perhaps in a better position than most men to estimate wisely the career and accomplishments of the present occupant of the White House.

McAdoo: the Man and His Times—A Panorama in Democracy. By Mary Synon. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 355 pp.

Any life of Mr. William G. McAdoo must perforce be to some extent a history of the recent past in American politics and administration. Miss Synon has made her book such a history by including in it full accounts of the part played by Mr. McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury and head of the railroad administration during the war, as shown in official documents and especially in Mr. McAdoo's letters to President Wilson. Long before our entry into the war, however, Mr. McAdoo had been identified with the establishment of the Federal Reserve banking system and with other important measures

of the Wilson administration. These matters, also, are discussed in Miss Synon's biography, and there is an interesting account of Mr. McAdoo's youth in the South, his coming to New York and the brilliant, constructive work that he did on the Hudson Tunnels. All in all, the career described in this volume has had few counterparts in the lives of contemporary Americans.

Social Politics in the United States. By Fred E. Haynes. Houghton Mifflin Company. 414 pp.

For the American voter there could hardly be better reading in a campaign year than this survey of the part played by economic and social problems in our politics. It is a great thing to have the history of the various social reform movements brought within the compass of a single volume. These include Socialism itself and the labor movement, the Single Tax, the Progressive movement in 1912, the Non-Partisan League and the third parties that have sprung up from time to time in the course of our political history. Many of the questions that have arisen in recent months concerning the possibility of a third party, the probable course of the Farm Bloc and the issues of the coming Presidential election, would find partial answers, at least, in the comprehensive account which Professor Haynes has written. He has brought together material from many sources which has not heretofore had a popular presentation.

Taxation: the People's Business. By Andrew W. Mellon. Macmillan. 227 pp.

The underlying facts, as well as the principles, on which the Treasury bases its fiscal policy are clearly elucidated in this little book by Secretary Mellon. The Secretary gives a simple, non-technical statement of his whole program of taxation, and from it the layman can form his own conclusions as to the value of the so-called "Mellon Plan."

Problems of Public Finance. By Jens P. Jensen. (Crowell's Social Science Series—Edited by Seba Eldridge.) Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 606 pp.

Public expenditures, income and debts are matters in which every citizen is vitally concerned. More and more it is demanded of public officials that these subjects be carefully studied and intelligently presented. This book undertakes to give an exposition of the problems of public revenue and fiscal policies and of the various solutions proposed for them. It is intended primarily as a text-book for college and university students, but may be used with profit by public officials, social workers and tax-payers.

Wild Life and the Out-of-Doors

Animal Life in the Yosemite: an Account of the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Amphibians in a Cross-Section of the Sierra Nevada. By Joseph Grinnell and Tracy Irwin Storer. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 752 pp. Ill.

This truly massive record of the mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians in the Yosemite Valley of California indicates that we are only at the beginning of our accurate knowledge of animal life on this Continent. If intensive studies like this were conducted in every part of the country, an extensive library would be required to preserve the results. This volume of over 750 pages gives an account of what was learned through scientific field work in a rectangular area eighty-nine and one-fourth miles in length by seventeen and one-third miles in width, constituting what is called a typical cross-section of the central Sierra Nevada. In this comparatively small section the altitudes range from 250 feet to slightly over 13,000 feet. Those visitors to the Yosemite Valley who are interested in natural history will find this work full of pertinent information. The illustrations (many in color), maps and line-cuts are excellent and add materially to the value of the text.

Rare, Vanishing and Lost British Birds. Compiled from Notes by W. H. Hudson. By Linda Gardiner. E. P. Dutton & Company. 120 pp. Ill.

The naturalist and author, W. H. Hudson, who died last year, left many notes which he had pre-

pared with a view to revising the pamphlet "Lost British Birds," which he wrote in 1894. From these notes there have been compiled descriptions of twenty-five birds, one of which is wholly extinct, while others are entirely lost to Great Britain and still others exist in such small numbers as to be unknown except to a few collectors. Hudson's comments are of interest to all naturalists.

Southern Woodland Trees. By James Berthold Berry. (New-World Agriculture Series, edited by W. J. Spillman.) Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 214 pp. Ill.

A guide to the identification of trees and woods, intended to accompany the hand-book, "Farm Woodlands," published in the New-World Agriculture Series. The book has a distinct educational aim, its author being County Vocational Supervisor in the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction.

Gardening by Myself. By Anna B. Warner. Duffield & Company. 223 pp. Ill.

The author of this book passed most of her life on Constitution Island in the Hudson River, opposite West Point. Her little book about gardening was first published in 1872, and has long been out of print. It is full of practical suggestions, many of which are as useful now as when they were first written. Its pages have a literary charm not often present in gardening manuals.

Reference Books

The New Larned History: For Ready Reference Reading and Research. Based on the Work of the late J. N. Larned. Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. Vols. V-X. Pp. 3543-8958. With maps and other illustrations.

The fresh material incorporated in the "New Larned History" bulks large in proportion to the original text. This is well illustrated in the article on Russia in the ninth volume. While this article in no way neglects the origins and early record of the Russian Empire, many pages are devoted to an account of what has happened in that land since the beginning of the Great War. An excellent map of the present Russia and the new border states accompanies the text, which includes also a translation of the constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic, made from official printed copies. In the tenth volume there is a similar treatment of the recent developments in Turkey, and in that volume also is begun the section allotted to the United States of America. The 500 pages given to that section in this volume suffice to bring the history down to nearly the end of the Civil War. The publishers promise that about one-half of Volume XI will be required to complete the section, but in addition to this are the innumerable cross-references which introduce cognate material throughout the set.

In Volume XI and XII, soon to appear, the World War will be covered.

The Outline of Literature: a Plain Story Simply Told. Edited by John Drinkwater. G. P. Putnam's Sons. (In three volumes.) Vols. II and III. Pp. 299-1136.

With the exception of the single chapter on French literature in the age of Louis XIV, the second volume of Mr. Drinkwater's "Outline of Literature" is given up to English writers. In the third volume the same intensive study of English literature is continued through the Victorian era and down to the present day, and in addition, there are chapters on the New England writers of the Nineteenth Century and the modern American and European writers, while dramatic literature is represented by a few illustrious names.

Lead—The Precious Metal. By Orlando C. Harn. The Century Company. 323 pp. Ill.

The metal lead and its compounds have a great variety of uses in the fabrication of other products, of which the general public has only the vaguest knowledge. Glass, rubber, pottery and paint are

only a few of the articles in the making of which lead has an important part. As these manifold uses of lead are developed in Mr. Harn's instructive book, the reader feels that this author's characterization of the metal as "precious" is not without justification. One interesting chapter is devoted to "the printer's metal," another to petroleum refin-

ing, and still another to "Lead in Ammunition." These topics, informally treated by Mr. Harn, suggest some of the ramifications of his subject. One great advantage of Mr. Harn's writing is its freedom from technical terminology. The general reader will have no difficulty in understanding what he says.

Other Books of the Month

Law and Its Administration. By Harlan F. Stone. Columbia University Press. 232 pp.

Although these lectures by the Attorney General of the United States were not originally intended for general circulation, they were addressed to lay audiences and not to members of the legal profession. The lecturer was concerned in getting the layman to see something of the true nature and meaning of law and at the same time to appreciate more fairly the difficulties of legal administration. Thus he hoped to contribute to the cause of good citizenship. Now that President Coolidge has placed Mr. Stone at the head of the Department of Justice, these discourses on law and legal procedure will be read with great interest.

Extension Courses of the People's Institute—Psychology. Parts I-XIII. By Everitt Dean Martin. The People's Institute Publishing Company. 158 pp.

For a quarter of a century the People's Institute at Cooper Union, New York City, has been known as one of the leading American agencies of popular education. It has brought to thousands of adults opportunities for mental discipline that had been denied them in their youth. The methods of instruction developed by the Institute have differed sharply from those commonly employed in our schools and colleges. Instead of the lecturer asking questions of the audience, the Institute reverses the process and gives the audience the privilege of questioning its instructor. No doubt this has been a good thing for both teacher and pupil. The give-and-take between platform and audience has resulted in a form of discourse that presents the subject under discussion in the simplest and clearest terms, and helps to crystallize the thought of both speaker and hearer. Heretofore, the work of the Institute has been confined to the platform, but now the Institute lectures are to be published as "Extension Courses," and in this form are likely to reach thousands of interested readers and students who are unable to come to Cooper Union. This is a worth-while experiment. Not only will the Institute's field be widened and its benefits bestowed on a vastly increased number of constituents, but its active part in vitalizing and humanizing education will be made to contribute directly to larger and larger groups of students throughout the country. The first series of published courses is that devoted

to psychology by the Director of the Institute, Mr. Everitt Dean Martin, who has been remarkably successful in giving his hearers an insight into the fundamental truths, as well as the most recent developments, of mental science. His lectures deal with such topics as "Psychology and Physiology—A Study of Reactions," "Psychology and Philosophy—The Place of William James," "Psychoanalysis—What Freud and His Followers Have Done for Psychology," "Human Nature and Instinct," "Man and His Emotions," "The Unconscious and Its Influence on Human Behavior," and "The Significance of Intelligence Tests." The announced purpose of this course is "to teach you not what to think, but how to think." Mr. Martin is the author of "The Behavior of Crowds."

Herbert Levi Osgood: an American Scholar. By Dixon Ryan Fox. Columbia University Press. 167 pp.

The late Professor Osgood, of Columbia University, was one of the best American examples of that school of historians who write not for popular consumption but to supply their brother historians with adequate materials. Among Professor Osgood's students at Columbia are many who have received inspiration and adopted the methods of the master. Professor Osgood's field of research was American Colonial institutions. His three volumes on "The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," published nearly twenty years ago, were at once accepted as the standard authority on the period treated. He left four additional volumes describing the process of development up to the eve of the Revolution. These were practically ready for publication, and will appear complete during the present year under the title, "The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century." Professor Osgood died in 1918. The brief biography by Dr. Fox is a discriminating tribute.

In and Under Mexico. By Ralph McA. Ingersoll. The Century Company. 235 pp. Ill.

A young American mining engineer's account of his experiences in a Mexican copper mine and its "camp." It is a fresh and vivid picture of a phase of life concerning which little has thus far been written or printed. The American colony, which he so graphically describes, is not the only one of its kind in Mexico.



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